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ABSTRACT

Specific issues in counseling are examined from the user's perspective. The book is a collection of issue papers written by students and recent graduates. Chapter 1 provides an overview of the counseling profession and discusses the controversy between educational and therapeutic counseling, the predominance of high school counselors, and the relative ineffectiveness of counselors. The second chapter considers the counseling process itself. Chapter 3 deals with regional and community-based counseling centers as an alternative to the traditional high school counseling system. Minority counseling programs and minority student needs are addressed in Chapter 4, and the fifth chapter describes the information and counseling needs of women. Three primary changes in the counseling system are identified: (1) the focus of counseling should be client-centered; (2) counselors need to be able to collect and manage the information that prospective students need; and (3) counseling should be moved out of the schools and into the community. (LBH)

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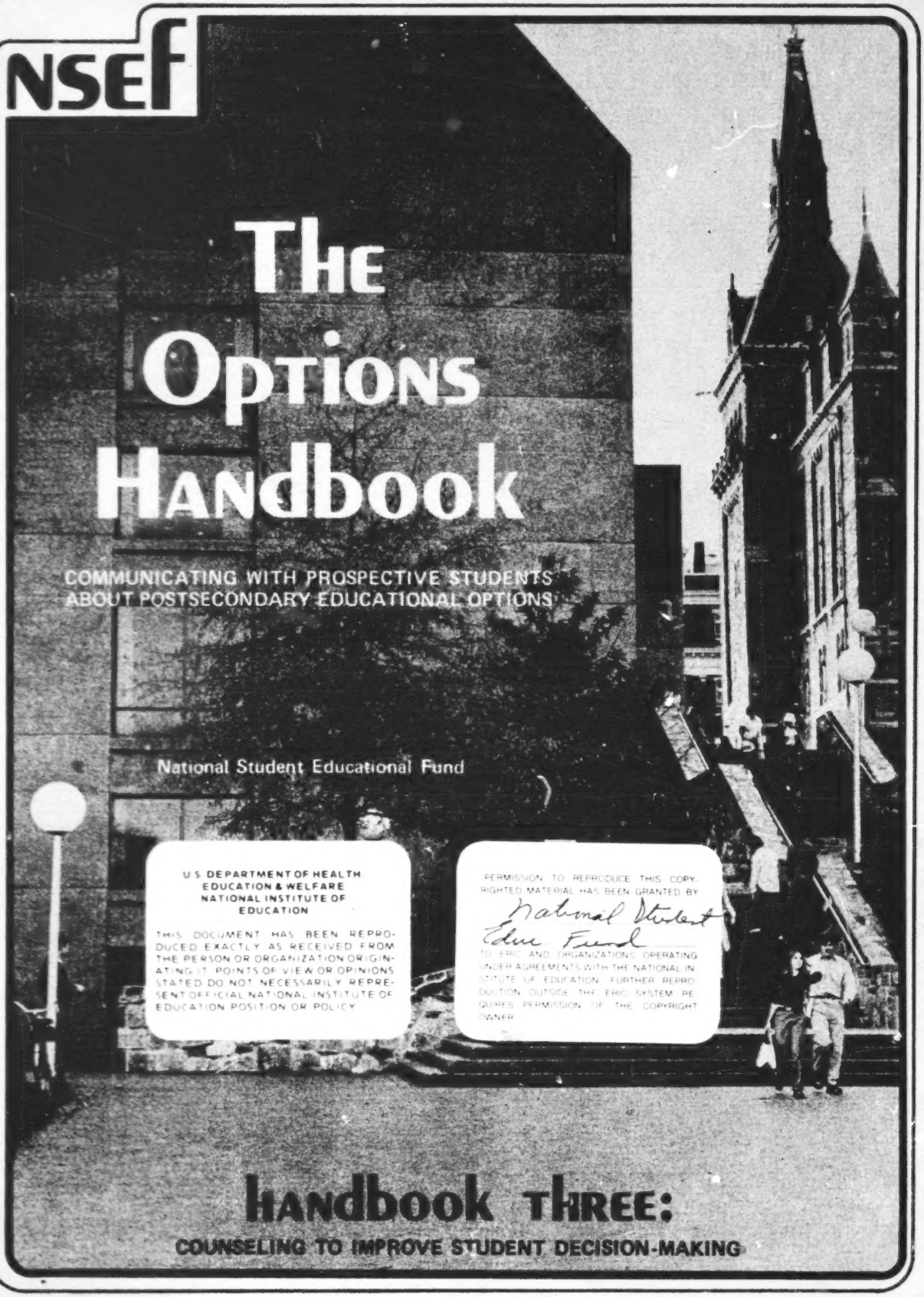

The Options Handbook

COMMUNICATING WITH PROSPECTIVE STUDENTS ABOUT POSTSECONDARY EDUCATIONAL OPTIONS

National Student Educational Fund

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Handbook Three:

COUNSELING TO IMPROVE STUDENT DECISION-MAKING

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The Options Handbook

COMMUNICATING WITH PROSPECTIVE STUDENTS
ABOUT POSTSECONDARY EDUCATIONAL OPTIONS

Handbook Three:

COUNSELING TO IMPROVE STUDENT DECISION-MAKING

EDITED BY:
Mary S. Carlson
with Chip Berlet

THE NATIONAL STUDENT EDUCATIONAL FUND

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Introduction

Where would *you* go for information if you were about to graduate from high school and had to decide whether to go to college or to get a job? What does it mean that the job market is poor; that even college graduates can't get jobs? The ads on television and radio, in the newspapers, buses and even matchbooks tell you about numerous schools that say skills in truckdriving, computer programing, and hotel management are needed, and that those schools can promise you jobs and loans. If you do want to go to a college, how do you decide which one and what program suits you? How do you get in? Do they award scholarships based on good grades or on need? How many forms do you fill out and where do you send them?

Where would you go for information if after 15 years of working you felt that you needed further schooling to get a better job? Are there programs that will take you? Are classes scheduled in the evenings? Are there child care facilities? Are there financial aid opportunities? Can more schooling really help you get a better job?

Where *do* you go for information? The chances are you don't have much of anywhere to go. In the first example you would probably ask your parents or your friends. Studies show that at best only about 1 in 5 students feel that counselors are an important source of information. If you could battle through the 621 to 1 student-counselor ratio in the average high school, you would find that the information the counselor had was mostly about colleges—not about technical or vocational schools, jobs, or financial aid. In the second example you might to go an employment counselor or a community-agency counselor—if you can find one. But again, the information they have is limited.

The chapters in this book look at specific issues in counseling from the user's perspective. The book is a collection of issue papers on this narrow topic, written by students and recent graduates, and not a comprehensive discussion of counseling.

Chapter 1 provides an overview of the counseling profession. It discusses the controversy between educational and therapeutic counseling, the predominance of high school counselors, and the relative ineffectiveness of counselors. It concludes that from a consumer perspective it is important to develop advocacy counseling, computer technology to store and sort information, and community-based counseling centers.

Chapter 2 looks at the counseling process. It finds that the amount of information and assistance that a student receives is dependent upon the degree of co-membership (shared characteristics) between the student and counselor. It also finds that counselors in the schools primarily serve the interests of the school and not those of the students.

Chapter 3 discusses regional and community-based counseling centers as an alternative to the traditional high school counseling system. The chapter calls for a system of outside-the-school centers which could fully utilize existing educational resources by drawing on an information base which covers all available educational, vocational, and career options thus linking each individual with the most appropriate institution, job or training program.

Chapter 4 examines minority counseling programs and minority student information needs. It discusses how the community-based counseling concept has worked for the minority-focused Educational Opportunity Centers. It also looks at the older recruitment and support service-oriented TRIO programs. Finally it discusses the need of minority students for complete information about college-going and how computer-based information services help meet those needs.

Chapter 5 describes the information and counseling needs of women. It examines the influence of "significant others" in shaping a girl's opportunity structure. It recommends the greater use of popular media to overcome the pervasive sex-stereotyping of vocational testing instruments, textbooks, and other educational aids in the schools.

We have found the counseling system sorely lacking: it is ineffective, it is oriented more towards serving the schools than the students, it often doesn't have the information that users need, it isn't accessible to older students, and it is moving in the direction of personal psychological counseling rather than serving basic informational needs. From our perspective, three primary changes are needed in the counseling system to enhance its effectiveness.

1. The focus of counseling should be client-centered,
2. Counselors need to be able to collect and manage the information that prospective students need,
3. Counseling should be moved out of the schools and into the community.

Client-centered Counseling—chapters One, Two, and Three discuss the need for advocacy counseling. Current counseling systems in the schools tend to promote institutional objectives rather than to satisfy student information needs by emphasizing the counseling roles of gatekeeper, disciplinarian, and administrator. The responsibility of counselors should clearly be the educational and career development of the student. Counselors should be advocates in that they should help students surmount bureaucratic barriers of forms, deadlines, and administrative jargon. They should help the student achieve his or her goals rather than rationalize the restraints of the system.

The Counselor as Information Manager: A Travel Agent Role—All authors have found that the greatest need of students is to locate good information in an intelligible form. The biggest failure of counselors has been their inability to keep well-organized, updated, information on subjects of student concern. Students find it difficult to get good information on many areas, are subject to information overloads in others, and are the potential victims of misleading information in still other areas. Counselors should become specialists in matching information to student needs much as travel agents must match available tours with the finances, preferences, and intended destination of travelers.

One important means of organizing vast quantities of data is by use of computers. Computers allow large quantities of information to be sorted and stored and can be used by students independently of counselors. The most important roles of the counselor are that of advocate and information manager. Counselors should therefore separate these roles from personal therapeutic counseling.

Community-Based Counseling Centers—All chapters make reference to the need to establish community-based counseling programs. These centers would be particularly effective in serving minority and older students, but are useful for "traditional" high school students as well. Such centers could combine information on education, careers, and financial aid. In being based in the community, rather than the schools, they would be more accessible and able to operate at times convenient to working persons. They could also employ outreach programs through the use of para-professional counselors at locations throughout the community.

These centers should be independent of colleges and universities as well as of high schools. Independence would allow users to be free of competitive recruitment practices. Counselors would be free to engage in advocacy counseling and would not have to perform institutionally-oriented roles.

Finally, such centers could serve as centralized information centers. They could engage in the collection of career, educational, and financial information on a local and state-wide basis.

• • •

by Seth Brunner

Counseling as an Information Service

Counseling on educational and career opportunities is integral to any information system for prospective students. The counseling profession, however, has been largely oblivious to the changing circumstances of postsecondary education. The central question is how to shape counseling services to meet the needs of a changing market of postsecondary institutions and educational consumers.

This paper will provide an over-view of the counseling profession and is divided into five sections: (1) who is a counselor, (2) the major issues of the counseling profession including the controversy between educational and therapeutic counseling, the criteria of counselor certification and training, and the role of the counselor in the schools, (3) the effectiveness of counseling, (4) the new realities of increased competition among colleges requiring consumer protection, and the establishment of "non-traditional" educational clientele, and (5) the major innovations in technology, the use of paraprofessionals, and community based counseling centers. The paper concludes that counselors should be advocates for students, and that computer information systems, the use of paraprofessionals and community based counseling centers should be supported.

WHO IS A COUNSELOR?

The counseling profession has grown tremendously since its inception by Frank Parsons in 1908. Secondary school counselors, by far the largest single grouping in the profession, have increased 400% between 1958 and 1970, from 7,000 to 35,000. The rapid development of the counseling profession and a struggle between guidance and psychological counseling has raised the question of who really is a counselor. Ginzberg (1971, p. 106) notes that there is difficulty in measuring the total number of *professional* counselors because of differences in the reporting mechanisms. He estimates that in 1966, the number of guidance personnel in major federal-state programs, education, vocational rehabilitation, and employment services totaled 45,000 full-time persons. His figures indicate that up to another 10,000 personnel were employed in colleges and universities, private and parochial secondary schools, voluntary agencies, commercial enterprises, and special governmental programs such as prisons, training centers and so on. Of this total, in 1966, 35,000 were school counselors, of which 32,300 were employed in secondary schools. Wrenn (1973 p. 250) generally endorses the Ginzberg figures in a separate survey.

The wide variety of guidance services vary greatly in their scope, quality, and purpose. By far the largest number of counselors are school counselors. Others include employment counselors, personal and professional counselors within large corporations, health and family planning counselors, religious counselors, youth organization counselors, psychological clinic counselors, and counselors in "special interest groups" such as women's organizations or gay groups. The federally-UCLA-based Educational Opportunity Center compiled a list of both professional and non-professional services that it planned to work with. A partial listing of these groups in the "Directory of Educational and Vocational Guidance Services" (Educational Opportunity Center, no date) provides an indication of the range of services available.

- Occupational Center
- Barrio Industries
- Tri Community Adult School
- Bienvenidos Community Center
- John Rossi Foundation (Youth Center)
- United Community Effort
- Job Corps Training for Women
- Assistance League Family Service

USC Community Counseling Center

Santa Monica Clare Foundation Alcoholism Center

Westland Health Services (Family Planning)

Antioch College–West

John Knox Bible Presbyterian College and Seminary

UCLA ROTC

Gay Community Center

Crenshaw Dorsey Community Adult School

Central City Occupational Center

State of California Employment Department

Boys Club

Youth Free Clinic

Catholic Youth Organization

Union Local No. 37

MAJOR ISSUES IN COUNSELING

The development of the counseling profession has been characterized by a struggle for professional status and continuing debate over the role and status of the counselor. The major issues include: (1) the conflicting ideologies of therapeutic and educational counseling, (2) counselor training requirements, and (3) the role of counseling within the schools.

The major critiques of counseling within the schools have been summarized by the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education in their publication, *Continuity and Discontinuity* (1973, p. 46).

> *At the school level, guidance services have been notoriously weak. There have been three areas of weakness: insufficient numbers of high school counselors, insufficient training for counselors, and a lack of accessible and useful materials for the students.*
>
> *Because training programs usually focus upon the personal problems of growing adolescents, counselors tend to know very little about college guidance and even less about career guidance.*

Conflicting Ideologies

Armor (1969, pp. 100-101), in his study of counseling as a developing profession, defines educational and therapeutic counselors this way:

> *[The educational counselor] sees the main goal of counseling as helping students make 'realistic' educational and vocational decisions. Realistic decisions are those consonant with the student's academic performance and ability as shown by standardized testing. We would expect the educational counselor, therefore, to use and rely on such objective indicators to a greater extent than other counselors. Since educational counseling is a more traditional role, and since many counselors are drawn from the teaching ranks, we would expect those counselors who have spent more time in teaching to be more inclined to practice educational counseling and to oppose therapeutic counseling.*
>
> *[The therapeutic counselor] sees his main goal in the total integration of the client's personality. The concern with good self-concept leads to more willing involvement with the client's personal problems, even relatively serious ones . . . the therapeutic counselor has more ambivalence about mere advice-giving, not to speak of actual direct suggestion manipulation. Since this activity is newer, we expect it to be more predominant among those counselors who have spent less time in teaching. Also, we expect that the therapeutic counselor could be shown to have prior interest in counseling as a career, rather than having changed later.*

The therapeutic approach is newer, more prestigious, and views counseling as psychological rather than educational. Its advocates believe that educational and career decisions are not simply a match between student traits and factors of the choice. Therapeutic counseling attempts to help students to more fully understand their decision-making processes. Advocates of educational counseling argue that the counselor is primarily an educator and that the counselors' closest professional relative is the teacher, not the psychologist.

This debate is particularly important because it has far-reaching implications. Therapeutic counselors require greater training, cost more to train and to employ, and have more restricted functions. The movement in this direction is in part motivated by the desire to increase the professional status of the counselor and seems to be gaining momentum within the profession. Ralph F. Berdie (1972), former president of the American Personnel and Guidance Association, has called for counselors in 1980 to become "applied behavioral scientists."

Counselor Training

Closely related to this issue is the question of how counselors should be recruited and trained. In the past the most common form of recruitment has been principals selecting individuals from the teacher ranks and propelling them into the counseling profession. This has been viewed as acceptable because of the philosophy that counseling is closely related to teaching. Indeed, in most states some teaching experience is required for school counselor certification.

This form of recruitment has led to questionable results. Principals may select teachers who "get along with the kids" or they may select teachers who do poorly in the classroom in order to create a teaching vacancy. The practice also fosters a sense of responsibility to the principal, and by extension, to the school, rather than to the student. [For a full discussion of counselor education requirements, see Pietrofesa and Vriend (1971).] There are no universal requirements for counselors in the myriad of services mentioned above, from employment to health counseling. This is because of the variety of auspices that these services operate under. It should be emphasized, however, that there is no evidence that these services would benefit from certification requirements. Rather, as discussed later, there is substantial indication that peer and paraprofessional counseling is a very effective model.

The Role of Counseling

Counseling within the schools has had a series of problems stemming from its ambiguous role in the school structure. These problems arise from the performance of multiple roles including that of disciplinarian, gatekeeper, and school functionary. As disciplinarian the counselor is often responsible for assigning punishment for misbehavior or unexcused absences. As gatekeeper, the counselor is responsible for evalu-

ating the student for colleges and employers who may depend upon counselor recommendations. The counselor thereby controls access to college and jobs.

As a school functionary, the counselor must adapt to the priorities the principal may set. These priorities, such as encouraging troublemakers to drop out, or encouraging reluctant students to attend college so that the school has a good placement record, are institutionally-oriented. All of these roles shed doubt upon the ability of counselors to function in a "neutral" fashion dedicated primarily to the educational and occupational advancement of the student. This makes it difficult for students to rely on counselors to provide even a basic informational function much less to enlist their aid in interpreting admissions or job requirements that they may not fully understand (Ginzberg, p. 126).

Normally counselors are a function of an egalitarian school system that is premised on treating all students similarly. Because of this, Patterson (1971, p. 78) notes that:

> *The emphasis that the counselor serve all students is carried to an absurd extreme [in] that the counselor must see each student usually for ten to fifteen minutes, each semester. Some administrators appear to feel that unless the counselor does this they cannot justify the employment of a counselor. This practice leads to the counselor using—and wasting—much of his time with students who do not want and do not need his help, so that he doesn't have time to work with those who do need and want his help.*

The combination of the growing emphasis on therapeutic counseling and the counselor's position in the school combine to shed doubt on the counselor's ability to act as an advocate for the student. The counselor tends to view the student's problem in terms of personal deficiencies or maladaptive social behavior rather than perceiving possible bureaucratic obstacles to the student (Stubbins, 1970, p. 614).

In conclusion, several issues of major importance face counseling. The profession seems headed, in its training and practice, in the direction of therapeutic counseling. From a student perspective this increased specialization may not be needed. It makes basic information and personal support which is necessary to gain access to higher education and to vocations increasingly difficult for the student to obtain. For policy-makers it raises the probability of increased cost both to train and to staff the schools. Finally, there is little evidence of need for increased therapeutic counseling.

Counseling within the schools is in many ways more oriented towards serving institutional needs than serving student needs. The multiplicity of counselor roles: disciplinarian, gatekeeper, and school functionary are primarily institutionally-oriented. The counselor must serve the needs of the school and therefore tends to conceptualize the difficulties students may be having as "interpersonal" rather than serving as an ally against causes external to the student.

● COUNSELOR EFFECTIVENESS

The available research on the effectiveness of counseling indicates that it has not been a major informational resource for students. Armor (1969, p. 124), in a 1967 study of Boston high schools, found that students see their counselor on an average of less than twice annually—a finding confirmed by a national Office of Education study. He also found that over two-thirds of his sample found their family to be the most important source of information with less than 10% finding their counselor to be the most important source. He concludes,

> *Our general conclusion must be that, while some students do see their counselors for from one to three sessions, but some for many sessions, their attitudes may not reflect a great need for the advice of counselors, at least when compared to that of their parents, friends, and other roles in the school.*

Astin (1975) had similar findings in this annual survey of freshmen. He found that only 9% of students surveyed found their counselor to be the most important source of information.

Tillery and Collins (unpublished paper, 1972) found large portions of students in their SCOPE survey had received no counseling assistance. Nearly a third of their students in a four state survey had no assistance in applying for jobs. The students found surprisingly little assistance from counselors even about college choice. Tillery found that 43% of the students did not consult with their counselors about their choice of a college. Only 22% found their counselor to be the most important source of information on their choice. Their most important sources of information were as follows:

Parents	43%
Counselors	22%
Other Students	16%
Teachers	10%
College Admissions Officers	9%

Counseling has not been a particularly effective source of information for students. Two reasons are counselors' multiplicity of roles and the emphasis on therapeutic counseling. It should also be noted that the national ratio of high school students to counselors is 621 to 1. The dominant philosophy of responsibility for counseling dictates that counselors see every student assigned to them, even if carried to the absurd extreme of seeing students for only 15 minutes once each semester. This obviously inefficient system suggests the need for new mechanisms both to provide students with information, and supportive interaction.

● NEW REALITIES FOR COUNSELING

The traditional market of students is shrinking. Enrollments are expected to peak by 1980 and to fall by as much as one-third. Glenny (1972) points to aspects of this trend:

1. The nation's birthrate is at its lowest point in history. The actual number of five-year-olds dropped 15% between 1960 and 1970.
2. The proportion of all males 18 to 19 years of age who are in college has dropped back to the 1962 mark of 37.6% from a high of 44% in 1969. The proportion of males 20 to 21 years of age dropped from a high of 44.7% in 1969 to 36% in 1972. This drop can be attributed only partly to the ending of the draft, since the trend downward started at least two years before resolution of the draft issue.

3. Women in the 18 to 19 year old group leveled off at about 34% in 1969 and those in the 20 to 21 year old age group seemed to have leveled off at 25%. This despite the ostensible efforts of colleges at affirmative action.

Thus, enrollments are leveling off for both elementary and secondary schools, and colleges and universities after the rapid growth of the decade of the 1960's. Every current indication is that enrollments will drop dramatically through the 1980's before leveling off. The Carnegie Commission (1973, p. 36), among others, has noted that as a result competition between colleges for the traditional pool of students is increasing:

> *Many institutions are . . . looking toward new constituencies—in particular, the large adult population, including veterans, as well as transfers from two-year colleges. Other institutions are admitting larger numbers of students after their junior year in high school.* This search for new constituencies is likely, in the long run, to be more useful to the college and to society than an increased competition through recruitment from a smaller pool of senior high school students.

The competition among institutions should present a new context in which counselors must function. They will no longer be faced with tempering student aspirations to meet restrictive admissions policies. Rather, the contrary will become true. Counselors should become the "front-line" of consumer protection aiding students in discerning misleading institutional practices. In particular they will be faced with misleading advertising, recruitment of students in their junior year in high school, and the selling by high schools of lists of juniors and seniors to both commercial and non-profit student search services without student permission. This new role will be in contrast to the more traditional role of a high school trying to "place" as many of its students as possible in the most prestigious colleges possible.

The movement towards extending university services to adults has been gaining ground. Many large universities have established such a program. The California Legislature has commissioned a feasibility study on establishing an entire segment of public postsecondary education devoted to "non-traditional" students. Models exist for both off-campus programs (University of California, Vermont Community College, Minneapolis Metropolitan College) as well as more media-oriented "external" credit-granting institutions including the University of Mid-America.

Expansion into non-traditional sectors has formed a new constituency for higher education. Adult students are often disenfranchised from the traditional counseling system of the high school by virtue of their distance from the high school experience, and frequently have different counseling needs. Rather than beginning a career at 18 and requiring information on overall career patterns and educational programs, adult students require more job-specific information. They frequently enter the educational system with more specific needs and goals. Time and money constraints prevent the kind of career exploration sometimes available to younger students. Adults often need information about geographically convenient programs, and courses that fit into occasionally rigid schedules. The "personal problems" associated with these students also differ from those of the traditional clientele. Older students often need help in adjusting to mid-career changes, in coping with family, job, and school work simultaneously, and so on.

● PROMISING DEVELOPMENTS

There are three promising new developments which could help provide an accessible, interactive, information system for students: computer information systems, peer counseling, and community-based counseling systems. Computer technology can provide an information retrieval system that frees counseling time while storing and organizing information more effectively than the counselor. Peer counseling provides for increased numbers of advisors at low cost. Peers have been shown to be a significant source of information for prospective students, and also have the highest degree of "co-membership," suggesting that they may be the most effective counselors. Finally, community-based counseling can incorporate both of these ideas as well as extend information and counseling services to a wider audience. This audience should include the non-traditional student, counseling agencies, parents, and others.

• Computer Information Systems

Recent efforts to use computers as career guidance aids have met with some success. Computer guidance efforts have the advantages of the ability to: (1) store, retrieve, sort, and relate vast quantities of data, (2) simulate a conversation and respond to the immediate demands of the user, (3) repeat the same process with unfailing accuracy innumerable times, (4) easily revise and update information, (5) be operated economically in comparison to other information systems, (6) operate independently of counselors enabling it to respond to a larger number of students, (7) screen and sort appropriate options on the basis of specifications provided by individual users.

A report by the California Postsecondary Education Commission (1974) has identified three major types of computer guidance programming.

Indirect Inquiry System—This system requires that students complete a questionnaire in which they indicate preferences for certain characteristics of a college or job. This form may also ask for personal information about the student. The form is sent off to a central processing unit for batch processing and is returned with a print-out of schools, jobs, and other kinds of information that relate to the information provided by the student. Both the Educational Testing Service and the American College Testing Program have such programs.

Direct Inquiry System Without Monitoring—This system allows for interaction between the user and the computer. Usually through a typewriter terminal connected to a central computer. The user completes a questionnaire and can explore different options by altering specifications. The computer's responses are recorded on a print-out which can be taken by the user. Oregon's Career Information Service is the primary model for this system and is the basis for a series of ten contracts let by the Department of Labor to state administrative consortia to develop similar systems.

Direct Inquiry System With Monitoring—This system contains most of the attributes of the other direct inquiry system. However, this type stores information about each user—grades, interests, and responses from earlier sessions—

and then draws on these items for subsequent sessions. The primary example of this model is probably the Educational Testing Service's SIGI (System for Interactive Guidance and Information) which also introduces the variable of choices of values relating to career and education.

These computerized systems are portable and serve a variety of audiences. Oregon's Career Information System (1973, p. 1) experimented with terminals and counseling assistance in a shopping center for seven days. They report:

> *Approximately four hundred people, primarily adults, used the service during the seven days. Because of heavy demand, many had to sign up on waiting lists. Thirty-two of those who later returned to use the system were surveyed by telephone a month after the demonstration to assess the impact of their experience. The results of the survey show that nearly one-half of the people interviewed were very satisfied or satisfied with the System, one-third felt ambivalent or neutral, and one-fifth felt dissatisfied. Comments made by people feeling neutral indicated that they did not have enough time with the System, that they used the System just for fun or curiosity, or that they thought it would be better for youth than adults. The dissatisfied people generally desired more specific information, especially job openings.*

The reaction within the counseling profession to the increased use of technology has been mixed. Many counselors feel the use of computer systems will further erode the one-to-one counseling relationship. Loughary (1970, p. 188) suggests that such criticism lacks an appreciation of counseling objectives as well as counseling processes.

> *Perhaps the most critical counselor contingency regarding the use of computers is the extent to which they are able to operationalize their objectives and outcomes. Counseling as a profession has been something less than specific in describing or identifying the particular services it can provide to its users. It has talked historically about process and very little about the outcomes of the process. While computer systems can be employed to facilitate processes, they must always, in the final analysis, deal with output. Process without specificity output becomes purposeless. To the extent that counselors are willing to specify the outcomes of their efforts, they will be in a position to evaluate the assistance which computer systems can provide.*

Computer systems are also useful administratively in insuring that information reaches a wide audience of prospective students. The City University of New York sends a personalized CUNY application form to every senior in the public high schools of New York City. This application has the student's name and a copy of their transcript imprinted on the application. A student can indicate their need for financial aid information by checking off the appropriate box and will then be mailed a financial aid application. This process of direct mailings to every prospective student within a service area can be accomplished—in large service areas—only with such technological aids.

• Use of Paraprofessionals

An important means of delivering educational and career counseling has been the use of peer paraprofessionals. The use of peers is particularly significant because they are less expensive to train and use than are professional counselors. The research on the effectiveness of counselors also indicates that peers prove to be the most important source of information for about 25% of prospective students, suggesting that it would be useful to institutionalize this source of information. Erickson, et al (1974) found that the best counselors tend to be those with the highest degree of co-membership with the counselee. That is, counselors who are the most similar to the counselee in terms of sex, race, and background, tend to relate most effectively and are most accepted by the counselee.

Paraprofessionals have been used in a variety of settings and reports on their effectiveness have been generally positive. Zunker and Brown (1966) found that they can be effectively used to handle academic advising, scheduling, and study skills development. Martinson and Zerface (1970) and Truax and Carkhuff (1967) found students to be effective in working with interpersonal problems and in therapeutic counseling. Upcraft (1971) found them to be effective as academic advisors. Kadota and Menacker (1970) endorsed the use of "community people" in working with community based guidance for the disadvantaged. A limited survey by the Task Force on Paraprofessionals in the College Counseling Center (1971) reports that, in descending order, paraprofessionals have been used in Crises Centers and hotline situations, study skills counseling, drop-in counseling centers, and general advising and information.

• Community-Based Counseling Centers

There has been a growing interest by federal, state, and private agencies in establishing community or regional advisement centers independent of existing educational institutions. These efforts have all been targeted towards special groups of prospective students. The federal government has established a series of Educational Opportunity Centers directed towards counseling low-income and minority students who are less likely to use traditional counseling mechanisms. The Fund for the Improvement of Postsecondary Education, in the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, has helped finance two private advisement services targeted towards non-traditional, older students: the Regional Learning Service in Syracuse, New York and the Capitol Higher Education Service in Hartford, Connecticut. The California Postsecondary Education Commission is developing a plan, at the request of the California Legislature, for a pilot series of regional counseling services directed primarily at adults and others who do not have access to educational and career advisement. Community advisement centers have the advantage of being independent in a time of institutional competition.

The recent emphasis on non-traditional students requires advisement services readily accessible to adults. Such centers, however, also hold promise for traditional students. Advisement centers independent of schools avoid many of the serious problems of role confusion and lack of information that is found in school counseling. They can provide students with more than the normal 15 minutes alloted to the counseling interview, and all are characterized by combining vocational and educational information rather than emphasizing educational information. Finally, they are also accessible to others in the student's decision making pattern, such as parents, and other adults.

The Syracuse Corporation's *Regional Learning Service* (Bailey and Macy, 1974, p. 91) describes the function of its paraprofessional "learning consultants,"

Rather than create a dependent relationship, the consultant will act in ways to ensure that the learner takes increasing responsibility for his own educational venture. Students will be encouraged to explore and actualize their innate potentials within the content of a relationship that allows for honest expression of self-doubt, and confusion over life goals. This is particularly possible as learning consultants do not have administrative or assessment functions that interfere with free self-disclosure on the part of the client. The emphasis throughout the process is on the learner's need to discover who he is, where he wants to go and how he is going to get there.

. . . [Clients] want someone on their side who knows how to work with institutional regulations to obtain the maximum results for the individual learner. As advocates, learning consultants will also help clients to cope with forms, deadlines, and examinations. Central to the external degree concept is the notion that learners should receive full credit for what they know rather than simply for the hours spent in academic classrooms. The learning consultant is not an academic validator but a facilitator intervening to help existing validations systems work for the external degree candidate.

Conclusions

Some conclusions and recommendations for a more effective interactive information system.

1. (a) The role of the counselor has been the source of much confusion both to counselors and students. The counselor should be an ally of and *advocate* for the student. As an advocate, the counselor has three primary functions: to be personally supportive, to be able to locate information needed by the students, and to help cut red tape and help students to understand the maze of recruitment, admissions, and financial aid information which confronts them.

1. (b) There is clearly a need for counselors to provide a supportive atmosphere in which a student may explore his or her career and educational options. Such an atmosphere is necessary to free choice. Only through such a relationship are students free to ask for whatever information they require.

1. (c) The vast amount of information confronting students needs to be organized. Originally, counselors needed only to know what limited vocational choices were available to students in an immediate geographical area. The situation has changed dramatically to where students are able to attend a large number of institutions; and where careers are both more numerous and more complex. Financial aid has increased 66 times in 19 years. Counselors need to continuously update available information as one of their central functions.

1. (d) Students are confronted with an intimidating array of forms, deadlines, misinformation, and regulations. Counselors must act as red-tape cutters to help students overcome these problems. The College Scholarship Service Student Advisory Committee has identified numerous cases of otherwise qualified students losing out on financial aid monies through such confusion or administrative bungling. Students are being duped by shoddy recruitment practices, particularly at proprietary schools.

2. Counseling has been characterized by a conflict between educational counseling and therapeutic counseling. This is not the place to evaluate the need for therapeutic counseling, but it seems that the basic informational needs of students concerning access to postsecondary education and careers do not require therapeutic counseling. Rather, "access" counseling should be characterized by a supportive and open relationship with a counselor with a high degree of similar ethnic, sexual and experiential attributes of the counselee; adequate and accurate information; accessibility to counseling and information services. Therapeutic counseling should be available, but should not constitute the "front-line" of information services.

3. New counseling mechanisms that are independent of the existing educational structures should be developed. Such new mechanisms are required in order to meet the needs of the emerging "non-traditional" student who does not have access to high school or other educational and career counseling. These new structures should be independent of colleges, universities, and high schools in order to: avoid problems arising from institutional competition; make the services as accessible as possible; and avoid problems associated with the status of these different types of institutions.

The problems caused by the multiplicity and confusion of competing counseling roles in the schools suggest that "access" counseling might best be adopted by community-based centers. These centers should at least be open to "traditional" students. Studies on students' reliance on information from parents and others suggests that they should also have access to community-based centers. The perceptual association of counseling with disciplinary and adjustment problems in the schools suggests that the informational functions of counseling might best be performed in a more "neutral" setting.

4. Peer counseling and computer information services should be supported. Both of these mechanisms have been shown to be effective. Some authors have suggested that in the long run they will be less costly (Willingham and others, 1972) and they appear to be the only way to make high school counseling services more available than the current 621-1 ratio allows.

5. New governmental initiatives in educational and career information should emphasize (a) the development of new, more accessible counseling structures which emphasize advocacy counseling, (b) development of peer counseling programs, (c) development of new computerized information systems and implementation of those systems which have been shown to work.

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by Don Bremme

The Counseling Process: Interactions and Outcomes

Better information and improved information dissemination systems are two thirds of the equation that equals improved advisement on postsecondary options. More equitable and supportive counseling is the other third. How counselors interpret students' needs, and how they utilize information and communicate it to students are critical factors in the determination of the educational and occupational paths students follow. Policy to upgrade the quality of educational-vocational advisement will be incomplete, the success of that effort will be problematic, if the counseling process itself is overlooked.

Counseling is a situation of face-to-face interaction. Human communication face to face is susceptible to analysis; generalizations about interactional processes and outcomes in particular situations can be drawn. Recently, research into this aspect of educational guidance has begun to appear. (e.g., Erickson *et al.*, 1973; Erickson, 1975)

The results of such studies indicate that counseling interaction is far more than a simple, instrumental, relatively objective process of information exchange. The direction in which students are guided depends upon much more than their aptitudes, scholastic records, and career interests. How much help reaching their objectives students receive from counselors depends on more than the needs and merits manifest in their individual cases. Specifically, research on the interactional processes of guidance suggests that:

1. Counselors often function as gatekeepers, making educational and vocational decisions for students that may reverse choices made by the students and their families;
2. Counselors sometimes act as advocates for students, but individual counselors offer different amounts of special help to different kinds of students;
3. The decisions counselors make about what gates to open, about how much help to give often appear to be based upon the "social type" the counselor judges, consciously or unconsciously, the student to be;
4. A number of factors seem to influence guidance decision-making when they should not. These factors include the student's race or ethnicity, socio-economic status, style of speaking and listening to the counselor, and sharing of specific past experiences with the counselor.

This paper will attempt to identify the sources underlying the interactional outcomes of counseling summarized above. The studies that have generated these results and some corroborating work on face-to-face interaction in other settings will be used as a basis for guidelines to policymakers who would strengthen educational-vocational advisement.

● COUNSELORS AS GATEKEEPERS AND ADVOCATES

Counselors are decision makers. Their gatekeeping decisions open routes of educational and socioeconomic mobility to some and close them to others. Their decision to function as an advocate for a particular student may be critical to his or her realization of personal goals. These role options—gate-

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I wish to acknowledge the help and support of two colleagues and teachers at the Harvard Graduate School of Education, Frederick Erickson and Jeffrey Schultz. They have introduced me to the concepts and literature upon which this analysis is based. They have also shared their own work with me in an unselfish way. Further information on their work, cited herein, as well as background theory and additional supporting research, may be obtained by writing them or me at the Harvard Graduate School of Education, Longfellow Hall, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 02138.

CICOUREL AND KITSUSE, (1973)

TABLE ONE

Assignment of College-declared Students to Types of Programs

SOCIAL CLASS	COURSE TYPE A	B	C	N
Upper three	48	16	6	70
Lower two	2	3	3	8
N	50	19	9	78

TABLE TWO

Types of Programs* Assigned to College-declared Students by SCAT Scores

SCAT SCORE	UPPER THREE CLASSES TYPE A	TYPE B	TYPE C	LOWER TWO CLASSES TYPE A	TYPE B	TYPE C	N
76-100	25	1	0	0	0	0	26
51-75	14	7	0	1	1	0	23
26-50	8	2	2	1	1	0	14
0-25	1	3	4	0	1	2	11
N	48	13	6	2	3	2	74†

TABLE THREE

Types of Programs* Assigned to College-declared Students by Eighth-grade Point Average

GRADE-POINT AVERAGE	UPPER THREE CLASSES TYPE A	TYPE B	TYPE C	LOWER TWO CLASSES TYPE A	TYPE B	TYPE C	N
1.00-1.50	7	1	0	0	0	0	8
1.75-2.00	11	2	0	0	0	0	13
2.25-3.00	17	5	0	2	1	1	26
3.25-4.00	11	6	2	0	2	1	22
4.25-5.00	1	0	4	0	0	0	5
N	47	14	6	2	3	2	74†

†No information on 4 students.

Program type A is college prep; Type B includes some college prep courses, but an insufficient number for students to meet most college admissions requirements; Type C is non-college prep. SCAT = Scholastic and College Aptitude Tests.

keeper or advocate—are built into the definition of the position School Counselor. The differential treatment of students results as individual counselors work out this role dilemma.

That counselors do play both roles is documented by two research efforts that have probed how the work of guidance is done at secondary and postsecondary levels. (Cicourel and Kitsuse, 1963; Erickson *et al.*, 1973.) These studies also illustrate two modes of accomplishing gatekeeping and advocacy:

1. Directly, through placement decisions;
2. Indirectly, through the selection and manner of communicating information in counseling interviews.

Cicourel and Kitsuse (1963) spent several months in a suburban high school examining the guidance decisions affecting a sample of incoming freshmen. Of 78 who declared their postsecondary goal as college and specified a college preparatory program, only 50 (64 percent) were placed by their counselor in such a program of courses. In the case of the other 23 (36 percent), the decisions of students were not honored.

It might be supposed that the counselor was attending to parental wishes, but this was not the case. The parents of all 78 students intended their children to go to college. (44-45.) Nor was the counselor simply implementing formal organizational rules for course assignment. As Tables 2 and 3 show, there was no systematic relationship between program assignment and students' standardized test scores or prior grades. Ten students with SCAT scores below 50 were assigned to the college preparatory program, but 9 with scores above 50

were not. Similarly, 12 students with previous grades averaging 2.35 (C-) or below were placed in the college prep curriculum, although 9 with grade averages of 3.00 (C) or higher were denied such placement.

The counselor in question, then, functioned as a gatekeeper. Her determinations—not the educational objectives of students and parents, not grades and test scores—were the basis of program assignment. (136.) The gates to the college-bound road were closed for some apparently-qualified students and opened for others with weaker records. For the latter group, the counselor served as an advocate; she approved and supported their educational decisions despite their weak academic performance and measured aptitude. Cicourel and Kitsuse's work with 40 counselors suggests this case is not atypical. (85-131.) Placement becomes gatekeeping as counselors' personal judgments are used as placement criteria.

The study by Erickson and his colleagues (1973) of 39 junior college counseling sessions demonstrates that counselors gatekeep in other ways. Using 16 mm. sound film and videotape, Erickson recorded and analyzed the face-to-face communication of counselors and students. He found that non-verbal signals, "paralinguistic" signals such as voice, pitch, rhythm of speech, and the structure and organization of verbal messages all may function to produce implicit meanings. As these appear in counselors' speech and behavior with students, gatekeeping may result. This is well-illustrated in the following sequence.

(The dialogue reproduced here occurred between a white male counselor in his early thirties and a black male college-age student. The counselor is seated behind his desk; the student, next to him across the corner of the desk. The counselor has commented that the student's record in high school was "not the best in the world" and asked whether it is "indicative." The student has replied by explaining his busy schedule while in high school.)

Counselor: *. . . as far as next semester . . . why don't we give some thought to what you'd like to take there . . . (Leans forward) Do you plan on continuing along this P.E. major?*

Student: *Yeah, I guess so. I might as well keep it up . . . my P.E. and (shifts in chair) I wanna go into counseling too see . . . you know, to have two way (gestures) . . . like equal balance.*

Counselor: *I see, uh . . . What do you know about counseling?*

Student: *Nothing. (Smiles and averts eyes, then looks up.)*

Counselor: *Okay . . .*

Student: *(Shifts in chair, smiles and averts eyes, then looks up) I know you have to take psychology courses of some sort . . . and counseling.*

Counselor: *(Leans back in chair) Well . . . (Student stops smiling, looks directly at counselor and sits almost immobile while counselor talks and shifts in chair repeatedly) it's this is a . . . It'll vary from different places to different places . . . But essentially what you need . . . First of all you're gonna need state certification . . . state teacher certification . . . in other words you're gonna have to be certified to teach in some area . . . English or history, or whatever happens to be your bag . . . P.E. Secondly, you're gonna have to have a Master's degree . . . in counseling . . . which as you know is an advanced degree. (Short laugh.) That's what you have to do to get a counseling . . . to be a counselor.*

(Erickson *et al.*, 1973; 258)

This exchange may appear straightforward, simply informational. So it seemed to the counselor. When Erickson later showed him a videotape of the interview and asked for his reactions, the counselor remarked:

Right now we both seem to be concentrating on giving information . . . He on the other hand is concentrating . . . on accepting the information and putting it together . . . he's got aspirations for the future, P.E. and uh . . . uh counseling . . . he's a little bit ahead of himself as far as the counseling . . . as the year progressed, I guess I got the question so often that it became one of my favorite topics an' I was ready to uh numerate . . . essentially what he did was he started me off on my information.

(Erickson, 1975; 54)

The counselor believed he had responded to the student's concerns, giving him useful information and helpful advice. Later in the same session with the researcher, he said, "I thought that I had gotten through to him . . . and that he perhaps felt that he had somebody there who'd care a little bit about him." (Erickson *et al.*, 1973, 261.)

The student, however, perceived the same episode quite differently. As he watched a replay of the videotape, he commented:

Well . . . well I really couldn't say but I wasn't satisfied with what he wanted to push . . . I guess he didn't think I was qualified, you know. That's the way it sounded to me . . . This guy here seems like he's trying to knock me down, in a way, you know. Trying to say no . . . I don't think you can handle anything besides P.E. You know he just said it in general terms, he just didn't go up and POW like they would in the old days you know. This way they just try to use a little more psychology . . . they sugar coat it this way.

(Erickson, 1975, 55)

The student adds that he'll go to his basketball coach or to a black dean at the school for help next time.

While the student couldn't explain exactly what gave him his impressions, we know that they were to some extent accurate: "he's a little bit ahead of himself as far as the counseling," the counselor stated. How does the student pick up this unstated message? How is he gatekept? Reviewing the interchange, we can note that:

1. The counselor never (here or elsewhere in the interview) gives the student his forthright evaluation of how well-qualified the young man is to become a counselor; he never explores the bases of the young man's interest in that field; elsewhere in the conversation, the counselor talks at length with him about P.E., but he does not engage in a serious and direct discussion of the counseling objective;
2. When the student says he doesn't know what you have to do to be a counselor, the counselor replies by stating the two most remote requirements one must meet—state

certification and a Master's Degree; he never explains the preparatory steps a junior college P.E. major should take toward meeting those; he does not help the student plan concretely to realize his objective;

3. When the issue of courses for next semester arises again later on, the counselor will not permit the student to take a psychology course (which he thinks is necessary for counselors to have); the counselor strictly follows institutional rules, telling the student that to take psychology "they like you to have completed your English";

4. The counselor repeatedly "talks down" to the student, rephrasing information at successively more concrete levels; (Note this in the phrases: "state certification . . . state teacher certification . . . gonna have to be certified to teach in some area . . . English or history . . ." and so on). In this way, the counselor communicates that the student is someone who must have things put to him simply and specifically.

The student, then, is effectively gatekept. He is discouraged from pursuing his goal of counseling and urged to continue in P.E.; he does not receive the information he needs to plan a program leading to counseling or gain a perspective on how suitable that vocational objective is; he is prevented from taking a course he thinks will help him on his way. This happens through what the counselor does *not* say and through how and when he says what he does, as well as through his unwillingness to bend school rules.

The counselor in this example does not always perform his task in these ways. In another instance, again with a black male student, he does advocacy work and gives specific advice. He permits the student to repeat courses in order to have a chance at higher grades for transfer purposes, and he tells this student just what he should do "now" to prepare for this transfer. (Erickson *et al.*, 1973, 429.) The latter student, like the first, has poor grades. The subjective evaluation of the counselor differentiates them - for one, doors are closed; for the other, the counselor opens them.

Evidence of this interactional gatekeeping appears again and again in the guidance sessions recorded and analyzed by Erickson. Most often this gatekeeping is accomplished through the verbal and non-verbal features of communication.

• A Dual Role

Both the studies cited here demonstrate convincingly that counselors play the dual role of gatekeepers and advocates. They may do so directly, by assigning students on the basis of their personal judgments to particular courses and programs. And, they may do so indirectly—encouraging or discouraging, facilitating or inhibiting- as they spontaneously evaluate students and adjust their face-to-face interaction to convey different information.

That counselors do gatekeep and advocate differentially is one important point to be made about the counseling process. But if whether doors are opened or closed for students often turns upon counselors' personal evaluations of them, then how counselors make these judgments is also of considerable importance.

• STUDENTS' "SOCIAL TYPE" AS A CRITERION IN GUIDANCE

A person has many personal attributes that constitute his or her social identity. In a particular setting only some of these are socially-defined as relevant for consideration. The educational-career advisement session is one such setting. Within it, the attributes of students that counselors should take into account in evaluating them should be relevant to school performance and future job success. These would include such features as academic achievement, aptitude, training, experience, and student interests. (e.g., American School Counselors Association, 1964; Glanz, 1974, 61; Hill, 1974, 7) Other personal attributes of students—race, ethnicity, socioeconomic status, physical appearance, style of speaking and listening—ought not to be the criteria upon which educational-vocational counseling and guidance are based. Such attributes *do* come into play, however, in counselors' gatekeeping of students. As they do, students of certain "social types"—i.e., with similar clusters of these supposedly irrelevant identity features—are frequently placed or counseled into lower ranking courses, tracks, programs and vocations and given less support and advocacy help. For other social types, the gates to higher ranked educational experiences such as college prep programs, more "intellectual", technical, and professional majors, and vocations are more typically opened. There is a body of research supporting these generalizations. The research of Cicourel and Kitsuse (1963) has been introduced above. It was noted that the counselor's personal judgement of students was the principal basis for their assignment to programs. How such judgments were made, upon what criteria they were founded, was the subject of extensive interviews with counselors conducted by the researchers.

They found that:

1. *Counselors were specifically encouraged by school administrators to consider as criteria for placement such attributes of students as their "intellectual curiosity," "maturity," etc. Thus, subjective assessment by counselors was condoned; (*Ibid., *61.)*

2. *The counselor who placed the freshmen sample in college prep and non-college prep programs was influenced by students' "social types" (e.g., whether they were "in-group" leaders, troublemakers, "Y" members, individualists, or wearers of black leotards or skirts "too short") and social class in making decisions about students' scholastic abilities and performance;*

3. *The bases of the counselor's judgments of students was "a product of the subtle fusion of 'rational' and common-sense judgments. Belonging to the 'in-group' may be given greater weight than grade-point average in classifying a student as an 'excellent student,' or 'getting into a lot of trouble' may be more important than 'performing up to ability level' in deciding that a student is an 'underachiever.'* (Ibid., *71; for these conclusions as a whole,* Ibid., *61-75.)*

Analysis of the interviews with other counselors confirmed that they operated similarly in making evaluations of students —evaluations that were instrumental in their gatekeeping activities. In summary, Cicourel and Kitsuse concluded:

There is (in the schools of the US) an emphasis upon periodic examinations; formalized criteria govern the

Mean Special Help, OBSC and Emotional Tone by Different Social Identity Classifications

Social Identity	*Number of Encounters*	*Special Help*	*OBSC* *	*Emotional Tone*
Intra-ethnic	9	12.7 (5.0)	14.4 (3.7)	7.9 (1.7) *
Inter-ethnic	16	8.0 (4.2)	13.6 (3.4)	6.2 (2.7)
Intra pan-ethnic	15	10.4 (5.0)	14.4 (3.5)	7.5 (1.6)
Inter pan-ethnic	10	8.6 (5.0)	13.2 (3.5)	5. (3.2)
High Co-membership	7	12.6 (4.2)	16.9 (1.8)	9.0 (0.7)
Med Co-membership	9	10.5 (5.0) **	13.9 (3.4) *	7.0 (1.3) ***
Low Co-membership	9	6.6 (4.2)	11.7 (2.9)	4.8 (2.7)

*p < .05 **p < .025 ***p < .005
Standard deviations are shown in parentheses.

*** Overall Behavior Symmetry Coefficient - A primary measure of interactional character used to rate uncomfortable moments, interruptions, and symmetric overlapping in conversations. (Erickson, 1975, p. 63.)**

progress of students in the hierarchy of grade levels; college entrance requirements are not automatically achieved by virtue of enrollment in high school; and college admission is an outcome of a competitive process. Our research, however, supports the view that the student's progress in this sequence of transitions is contingent upon interpretations, judgments, and action of school personnel vis-a-vis the student's biography, social and personal "adjustment," appearance and demeanor, social class, "social type," as well as his demonstrated ability and performance.

(*Ibid.*, 136.)

Erickson's research (1973, 1975) supports and expands the findings of Cicourel and Kitsuse. Erickson analyzed 25 of his 39 videotaped and filmed counseling sessions in terms of three "social identity variables":

Ethnicity: *Italian-American, Polish-American, Irish-American, Chicano, Puerto Rican and Black persons were included in his sample;*

Pan-Ethnicity: *the counseling sessions were also classified as intra-panethnic or inter-panethnic; pan-ethnic groups were two: White Ethnic or Third World;*

Co-membership: *the sessions were classified as high, medium, or low co-membership interviews; co-membership, according to Erickson, "can be based on a wide variety of similarities, including comprehensive categories such as Catholic or male, or more narrow categories that come up during the conversation, such as 'people whose shirts wrinkled in the wash' or 'people who took the driver's test yesterday';*

(Erickson, 1975, 51) ethnicity and pan-ethnicity are subsumed in this feature.

The outcomes of each kind of interview were measured in terms of the special (advocacy) help given the student by the counselor. Interactional character of each encounter and of types of encounters (inter- or intra-ethnic and pan-ethnic; high, medium, or low co-membership) was rated. Finally, the emotional tone of every encounter was scored.

The findings that resulted from these analyses are summarized here.

1. Ethnicity had an impact upon the amount of special help the counselor gave the student: students of the same ethnicity and pan-ethnicity as their counselor were more likely to receive more advocacy than were students of different ethnic and pan-ethnic groups.
2. Ethnicity also influenced the interactional character of student-counselor communication: intra-ethnic and intra-pan-ethnic encounters proceeded more smoothly and participants felt more positively about them than was the case when student and counselor were of different ethnic and pan-ethnic groups.
3. The influence of ethnicity on amount of advocacy, while clearly apparent, was relatively slight as compared to the strong and consistent impact of ethnicity on the interactional character and emotional tone of the counseling sessions. That is, even when students of the same and different ethnic groups as the counselor receive similar amounts of special help from him, the student of a different ethnic group than the counselor's

is presented with a mixed message of approval and disapproval—his meanings are less clear to the student and his emotional support is more qualified.

4. Co-membership explains even more of the variance in process and advocacy outcomes in counseling sessions than pan-ethnicity, which in turn explains more than simple ethnicity. (This is reasonable, given that co-membership incorporates ethnicity and pan-ethnicity) Indeed, co-membership may override ethnic differences; where counselor and student have many specific background experiences in common, their ethnic differences may influence process and outcomes less.
5. All other things being equal, however, a student of an ethnic group different from the counselor's must perform considerably more deferential behavior to receive the same amount of advocacy help from the counselor as is given same-ethnic students. This relationship holds even more strongly across pan-ethnic lines (i.e., between White and Third World ethnics.)
6. Black counselors in the sample seemed relatively less-influenced by the ethnic differences of their counselees than did the white counselors studied. That is, differences between their sessions with White Ethnic and Third World students in interactional character, emotional tone, and amount of advocacy help were less than the differences in sessions with these two groups conducted by white counselors.

Erickson argues that the differential treatment of students by social type (as defined in terms of ethnicity and co-membership) is rooted in the communicational style differences of students and counselors. Persons of different cultural backgrounds learn (albeit unconsciously) different "rules" for gaze direction, body movement, syntax, etc. in particular situations. There is also evidence (e.g., Byers, 1972) that persons in different cultures move and speak in different rhythms. These rhythms of speech and movement and "rules" for talking and listening (both conscious and unconscious) make up a communication style. When the communicational styles of interacting parties are dissimilar, the parties feel less at ease, more interruptions and awkward moments occur, and their ability to read each others' meanings is affected. If the participants in communication feel alike in other ways—find they are "co-members) in some particular group or groups—ethnic differences, manifest through communication styles, seem to have less impact on their interaction and its outcomes. (Asymmetric interruptions, for example, are often replaced by smooth overlaps in talk.) On the other hand, if they judge each other as different on specific other dimensions, the rougher flow of interaction and more negative affect generated by communicational style differences may be exacerbated.

These are the factors which, according to Erickson, lie at the source of differential gatekeeping on the basis of social type. In interaction, persons engage in "sizing up" one another and the situation; or, as sociologist Aaron Cicourel puts it, they "negotiate" status and roles. (Cicourel, 1974) Thus, as a counselor talks with a student, the student's apparent "inability" to communicate smoothly and clearly, his or her "inaccuracy" in reading the counselor's messages, may lead the counselor to evaluate the student negatively—as incompetent, "slow", or hostile, for example. Such an evaluation, although based on results of communication style differences, can become a basis of gatekeeping, as we have already seen. So, in the dialogue quoted above, the black student's listening style (sits immobile, absence of nodding or murmuring "umhum" or "yes", eyes fixed on counselor) may lead the white counselor (whose style expected nodding and murmuring while watching a speaker's face) to assume the student is not following or understanding his points; the "talking down" results. (Incidentally, the black student who receives advocacy help—permission to repeat courses—does much nodding and replying "yes.")

Research by Erickson, Cicourel and Kitsuse grows from theories and methodologies which only recently have gained recognition and elaboration in sociological and anthropological work. It is not surprising, then, that these have been applied to the specific area of school counseling by only a few. Nevertheless, there is a body of research literature which corroborates the findings of the investigations reported here.

A number of observational studies of gatekeeping in the elementary grades, for example, have been conducted. (See, for example, Leiter, 1974; Mehan and Shumsky, 1973 [reported in Mehan, 1974]; Rist, 1970). These indicate that teachers' personal assessments of students strongly influence their placement decisions. Social type appears to serve as a criteria as pupils are held back or promoted, assigned to remedial classes, placed in "ability" groups, and put with particular teachers. Rist specifically points to cultural and social class factors as bases for placement. His three-year study of children in an inner city school found the pupils placed in ability groups on the eighth day of kindergarten. In second grade, the membership of these groups was virtually unchanged. Rist's analysis of the criteria used in forming and maintaining these groups was as follows:

> *Those attributes most desired by educated members of the middle class became the basis for her (the teacher's) evaluation of the children. Those who possessed these particular characteristics were expected to succeed while those who did not could not be expected to succeed. Highly-prized middle-class status for the child in the classroom was attained by demonstrating ease of interaction among adults; high degree of verbalization in Standard American English; the ability to become a leader; a neat and clean appearance; coming from a family that is educated, employed, living together, and interested in the child; and the ability to participate well as a member of a group.*
>
> (Rist, 1970, 422)

Spindler reported a similar process of teacher judgment in 1963. My own recent work in a suburban junior high school (Bremme, Facchina, Kronish, and Wenger, 1974) and in a kindergarten-first grade classroom (Bremme, in preparation) also confirms that ethnicity and social class are significant in the evaluations by counselors and teachers that lead to placement of students.

• Communication Styles

Another body of research shows that students are often evaluated on the basis of their communication styles. Children who speak Black English, it has been argued, cannot manage complex thinking. (Bereiter and Engelmann, 1966). In schools, these children are frequently placed in remedial programs of "special" classes. Labov (1969), however, has presented con-

vincing evidence and analysis to show that speakers of Black English are thoroughly able to articulate formal logical and abstract thoughts in that form of English. Judgments that they cannot are simply based upon ignorance or misunderstanding of the grammatical rules of that verbal system. Similarly, whites' misinterpretation of various verbal routines ("speech events") that are a part of some Black communication styles has caused trouble in schools (Lein, 1974) although these may bear important social messages and reflect valued verbal adeptness to "insiders". (Mitchell-Kernan, 1972; Kochman, 1972.)

American Indian children have been considered unteachable—fearful, unmotivated, withdrawn—because of their silence in classrooms, (Wax, Wax & Dumont, 1964). Field work in Indian communities has shown that this silence, is, in fact, induced by classroom conditions. The "usual" rules for speaking up, competing, displaying knowledge, asking questions are antithetical to the norms of many Indian peoples. Students resist these demands for (from their point of view) improper display by remaining quiet. (Dumont, 1972; Philips, 1972.)

Spanish-speaking pupils' shifting back and forth between English and their native language as they talk, has been taken as indication that they are not sufficiently proficient in either. But, as Gumperz and Hernandez-Chavez (1972) have pointed out, this "code-switching" is done intentionally to convey specific, "metacommunicational" meanings: to emphasize the ethnic identity of a quoted speaker, to add information about the speaker's attitudes toward a topic, to dramatize affinity with the Spanish-speaking community, etc.

The verbal behaviors mentioned here have been seen by many educational authorities as indicative of "cultural deprivation." Well-meaning school gatekeepers have assigned students displaying these characteristics to lower tracks, compensatory programs, and vocational courses. Socio-linguistic research, however, demonstrates that these decisions are ill-founded; they are—like those of Erickson's counselors—based upon inter-cultural misunderstandings of communication styles.

These studies confirm that the verbal component of cultural communicational styles can serve as a basis for gatekeeping. That the non-verbal features of communication may, as Erickson suggests, also cause interactional problems also has support in other work. Byers and Byers (1972) filmed and "microanalyzed" a multi-subcultural nursery school class conducted by a white teacher. They noted that white children were much more successful in "catching the eye" of the teacher and, thus, receiving attention and help, than other children were. Frame-by-frame study of the film revealed that the rhythmic timing of the white teacher and white students as they looked up from what they were doing to scan the room was synchronous; the black children's searching gazes occurred according to a different rhythmic pattern: they looked up too early and too late to meet the teacher's eyes. The authors state their belief that:

> *Part of the problem of racism or prejudice in America and elsewhere is traceable to systematic communication differences in cultural communication systems at this out-of-awareness level.*
>
> (Byers & Byers, 1972, 25)

Work by La France and Mayo (1975) on inter- and intra-racial conversations revealed further distinctions between the communication styles of Black and White persons. Not only was the element of interactional timing found to be different for the two groups, but the use of gaze direction and signals for passing the speaker's role varied as well. The authors identified significant "miscueing and lack of fit" in interracial conversational encounters. (*Ibid.*, 16) The impact of such interactional asymmetry is explained by La France and Mayo in the following manner:

> *This may be experienced as a vague sense of tension and awkwardness . . . With regard to interracial speaker-listener exchange, when we start having trouble in conversation we do not perceive the difficulty as the product of cultural difference. We are more likely to make negative evaluations of the other . . . Such misreading of subcultural communicational differences helps sustain stereotypic interpersonal judgments and contributes to conflict in interracial situations.*
>
> *(Ibid.,)*

This brief review provides context and support for the findings of Erickson and of Cicourel and Kitsuse. Taken together, this body of research suggests that gate-keeping by social type is not uncommon. As counselors and others "size up" students in interaction with them, deciding what gates to open and how much advocacy help to provide, their judgments of students are influenced in significant ways by the students' ethnicity, social class, co-memberships with them. These features of the students' social identities are manifest in how the students behave, the verbal and non-verbal components of their communication styles, and how they look and dress. The impact of social type on the character, emotional tone, and outcomes of the counseling session is usually out-of-awareness. Whether it is carried out directly through placement or indirectly through implicit messages in student-counselor communication, the gatekeeping decision typically is justified on other grounds: ability, grades, motivation, and so forth. The influence of gatekeeping decisions upon the educational and vocational paths students will be able to follow is significant.

The movement of students through the educational system into socioeconomic roles has been described in a recent text for counselors in this way:

> *The multiple chance system of educational opportunities at all levels of ability permits the individual to rise as high as he is able to within a free society. The sorting out takes place as the individual finds that he must select an occupation and societal status consistent with his abilities, aptitudes, intelligence, interest, and ambitions. The results of educational experiments show that the gifted person can come from the hills of a rural section or from the asphalt jungles of any city as well as from the drawing rooms of the Four Hundred.*
>
> (Glanz, 1974, 61)

This research presented in the foregoing pages suggests that while this may be the meritocratic ideal it is not a description of reality. The policy guidelines that I outline below are not intended to realize this or any other ideal. They might, however, strengthen the counseling help and support students often need to achieve their own educational and career objectives.

Conclusions

Before I begin drawing policy ramifications from the research cited above, let me emphasize what those studies do *not* imply.

In no sense does the research I have discussed suggest that counselors *always* afford students different than themselves less help or always assign them to educational programs of low rank. Nor does that research say that counselors always or only give preferential treatment to students they judge as similar to themselves on social type dimensions. The research speaks to probabilities and degrees of difference in counseling processes and outcomes. Simply lining students up with counselors like themselves, therefore, will not guarantee students an advocate who will inevitably understand and support them. In any case, such student-counselor "matching" would be extremely difficult. There is a range of dimensions upon which persons may be similar and dissimilar. And it is impossible to predict which of these will emerge as salient for specific participants in given interactions. (Co-membership, for example, may over-ride ethnic differences; but it also may not. See Schultz, 1975) Thus, promoting a one-to-one pairing of "like" students and counselors would *not* be a practical or useful direction for advisement policy to follow. Racially and ethnically segregated counseling should certainly not be a policy goal.

It should be reiterated, too, that utilization of social type criteria in guidance decision making generally occurs out-of-awareness. The bases of these criteria are usually deep-seated sociocultural preferences, ideas of appropriateness, and communication styles. These are learned "informally" and become part of one's world-view at an early age. (Hall, 1969.) Thereafter, they are employed without reflection to make sense of everyday life. (See Spradly, 1972; McDermott, 1974, 93-98 for descriptions and analyses of these processes.) Consequently, efforts to train counselors to ignore social type features in decision making or to adopt the communication styles of students would be tantamount to re-enculturation. If attempted at all, such training would need to be intensive and ongoing, probably akin to psychotherapy. Costs would be high; results, uncertain. Less encompassing training programs would do little but legitimize the status quo: promising change but affecting little. Pre- and in-service training programs aimed at changing counselors' behavior, therefore, should *not* be mandated or supported in guidance policy.

What, then, can and should be done?

The body of research discussed here yields a number of guidelines for educational-vocational guidance policy.

● ALTERNATIVES TO SCHOOL COUNSELING

Differential treatment of students by school counselors results, in part, from the fact that counselors in schools can choose to be gatekeepers or advocates. Both roles are formally approved; it is up to the counselor to interpret his or her role vis-a-vis an individual student. While there is much in the counseling literature to urge counselors to advocate the interests of students, there is also a strong mandate for them to serve the interests of the school and other social institutions (cf., American School Counselors Association, 1964; Hill, 1974; Glanz, 1974). School counselors are responsible for implementing placement guidelines and therefore are also responsible for upholding an institutions academic standards as well as maintaining institutional reputability. They are also given the task of seeing to the rational allocation of the nation's manpower resources (Moore and Gairer, 1963; Berdie, 1960; Hill, 1974, 25-26). Counselors too, are encouraged "to probe . . . what are believed to be 'deeper' underlying problems of psychodynamic origin" (Cicourel and Kitsuse, 1963, 100) in an effort to help the student "adjust" to existing school norms and social conditions (Glanz, 1974, 58 ff.; Hill, 1974, 48). These responsibilities -together with the aforementioned approval of considering 'motivation," "curiosity," etc., in assessing students for placement purposes—serve to encourage and condone counselors' gatekeeping according to subjective social type judgments.

The marriage of educational-vocational guidance and gatekeeping is sanctified by long historical tradition in America. (See Spring, 1970 for an excellent historical perspective.) It seems unlikely that they will soon be separated in the school counselor's role. Alternatives to in-school guidance, therefore, must be pursued.

Outside the school, counselors need not face the gatekeeper-advocate role dilemma. Freed from the responsibilities of placement and other allied functions, the counselor would have neither the formal encouragement nor the means to directly gatekeep students. In such a situation, the counselor's role could be defined exclusively as that of student advocate. Oriented to serving students' interests from the outset, counselors would be more inclined to give students' decision and objectives primary consideration in the counseling process. Standing apart from the obligations and affiliations of school personnel, they would be better able to offer students perspective on institutional processes such as gatekeeping and to "coach" them on ways to navigate bureaucratic channels.

Policy, then, should be designed to facilitate the creation of counseling centers outside schools. These should be loci of advocacy counseling—alternative sources of information and advice. Students might rely on them in lieu of school counseling; they might use them to supplement or "check out" the information they receive, and the placements they get, in schools.

Evidence indicates that gatekeeping begins when children enter school. It is important, therefore, that alternative sites of guidance provide services to parents of young children, as well as to students in high school and beyond. If they do not, many educational and vocational options may be foreclosed before alternative sources of information and advice become available.

● STUDENT/COUNSELOR CO-MEMBERSHIP AND CO-ETHNICITY

Student-counselor co-membership and co-ethnicity increase the likelihood that the character and outcomes of counseling interaction will be positive for the student. A goal of advisement policy, therefore, should be to promote the opportunity for all students to have access to counselors with whom they share features of social identity and communication style.

Thus, a "pool" of counselors should be available to a particular population of advisement clients. It should include—but need not be restricted to—counselors sharing with groups within that population a range of life experiences and culturally-based identity attributes. A student should be able to choose from among this pool a counselor with which he

or she feels comfortable interacting, so the student would feel his or her best interests are being served. Individual differences within cultural and "membership" groups mean that some students will select counselors with whom they have co-membership and share ethnicity, while others will not. Whichever the case, choice should remain with the student.

The number of counselors available to students and diversity in the staffing of guidance positions, then, are areas on which counseling policy should focus. Schools, for budgetary reasons, cannot always maintain counseling staffs of a size sufficient to encompass wide diversity. Furthermore, their hiring policies are not always informed by the need for counselors of varying social identity. Guidance policy which supports advisement services outside schools and stimulates information dissemination therefore, would indirectly but certainly facilitate students' access to a range of counselors with locally-relevant diversity. That diversity should be specifically encouraged in staffing new and existing positions, as well. Options for doing so that maximize the chance of high co-membership and co-ethnicity between counselee and counselor include the use of peers (older students, recent graduates, persons recently returned to school after time in the labor force—whatever statuses are situationally applicable) as counselors, as well as programs that recruit and train counselors locally for jobs available in the community.

Finally, two caveats about staffing are in order. First while Erickson's research suggests that pan-ethnic (i.e., Third World-White Ethnic) differences have greater impact on counseling interaction, ethnicity is a factor which influences communication and understanding in white-white encounters, too. This point should not be over-looked in seeking locally-relevant diversity in a counseling staff.

Second, it should be recalled that co-membership is at least as important as ethnicity as an influence on interactional outcomes. (Ethnicity may be a basis for co-membership, of course, but to assume that all members of a given ethnic group share life experiences and identical group affiliations is stereotyping.) Staffing policies should reflect this, emphasizing the need for counselors whose backgrounds and current experience bear similarity to those of the students with whom they will work.

● INITIATE AND ENCOURAGE INFORMATION DISSEMINATION

The influence of social type in educational-vocational decision making by counselors and teachers occurs, for the most part, out-of-awareness. The research which has revealed the interactional and evaluation processes underlying gatekeeping, furthermore, is not readily available to educational practitioners. Generally, studies of the type reported here have appeared in books and journals of a type receiving more attention from sociologists and anthropologists than from educators. Students, of course, have even less access to this kind of information. Advisement policy, consequently, should undertake to see that research on gatekeeping and interactional processes is disseminated in the educational community.

Symposia and workshops that bring researchers together with counselors, trainers of counselors, and school administrators should be supported. "Grass roots" dissemination—efforts in which researchers conduct "mini-studies" with a small group of counselors (or teachers in the early grades)—should be encouraged. The latter have the advantage of making the data used to support general principles relevant to the particular setting; and, in the process, they help expand the bank of information on interaction and communication styles.

Efforts of these kinds would serve several ends. First is general consciousness raising: they would stimulate concern about gatekeeping in the schools. Counselors' (and teachers') awareness of the bases of their evaluations of students would be increased. Significant dialogue among educators, and between practitioners and researchers, could begin. Second, staffing policies might well be influenced. Increased awareness of the importance of social type in educational decision making should give impetus to maximizing co-membership of counselors (and teachers) with students. Third, new information would provide counselors and others with alternative interpretations of that student behavior that is evaluated more consciously. Finally, it is possible that programs of information dissemination to educators will encourage at least some to experiment with organizational procedures to mitigate the effects of gatekeeping.

Students should also be afforded appropriate information on counseling processes. Developers of "career awareness" and vocational decision making curricula should include research-based materials on such topics as selecting and changing counselors, where and when to look for alternative counseling, as well as general information on communication styles. Care should be taken in this effort, as in others, not to portray counselors as "bad guys." As Erickson points out in one report of his work:

> *The difficulties that ethnically and especially pan-ethnically different counselors and students experienced did not result from any special malevolence on the part of the counselors . . . The counselors we studied were not trying to cheat their students or their school; nor were they incompetent. They were doing their job professionally despite a heavy work load.*
>
> (Erickson, 1975, 68)

Gatekeeping on the basis of social type will not be ended by mandate. Practically, co-membership and co-ethnicity of students and counselors—which will reduce its occurrence—cannot be assured by the creation of one program. No single policy stroke will guarantee equitable and supportive educational-vocational counseling. Such counseling will become more available only as the makers of policy recall and apply at every relevant point in their decision making an understanding of counseling evaluation and communication processes.

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by Scott Wren

Regional Counseling: A Community-Based Approach

As the counseling function for students has developed over the past few decades, services have come to be primarily concentrated in the high schools and oriented towards traditional higher education institutions. In the last several years, however, this system has come under increasing scrutiny by many observers. Criticisms that high school counselors are overworked and under-trained have become commonplace, but recently more fundamental concerns have surfaced which relate to the entire structure of counseling services, in its ability to meet differing student or "client" needs, its perpetuation of the educational lockstep, and its tacit tracking system which caters primarily to middle and upper income families.

The first use of the term "lockstep" was probably made by President Frank Aydelotte of Swarthmore College in the 1930's, but the term has been more recently popularized by the Newman Task Force on Higher Education (1971, pp. 4-6). The Task Force noted that:

> *Students seem now more than ever to be making major decisions about their lives without knowing that they are making them. This gliding past the critical point of career choices has in the past characterized the deprived rather than the privileged in our society. This was the way people decided to become short order cooks, but it was not the way those with the best of available educational opportunities chose their life work . . . strong pressures in our society, some old, others recent, keep students in an academic lockstep of steadily longer duration . . . as a consequence, going to college does not necessarily reflect a conscious decision to pursue a course of study or prepare for a career; it is a socially conditioned reflex.* (pp 5, 4).

Indeed, a chief defect of the present high school counseling system is that it tends to opt in favor of college and university programs, as more or less the only possible alternative for students, short of immediate entry into the labor market. But for many graduating high school students college may not be the best option for them. Yet, information as to other viable alternatives is frequently deficient.

THE NEED FOR NEW COUNSELING PROGRAMS

The problems of traditional high school students in deciding whether to pursue a subsequent educational experience are only one part of the larger counseling problem. As the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education has noted (*A Chance to Learn*, March 1970), information barriers are particularly serious for disadvantaged students, for without special efforts to encourage their attendance in college, they are less likely to take advantage of available opportunities. The Carnegie Commission went on to recommend the establishment of Educational Opportunity Centers, which would serve areas with major concentrations of low income families. Such centers would provide information and advice on career options and on higher educational opportunities (pp. 7-8).

But the demand for new approaches to counseling has also resulted due to some quite different developments. First, is the rapid expansion in the range and variety of "postsecondary" educational programs from which students can choose. These include profit making occupational schools (proprietary institutions), public vocational-technical schools, business training programs, the military, and a host of other non-academic educational programs after high school, as well as the more well known world of *higher* education which includes all colleges and universities. Thus, the range of options is becoming increasingly complex, and better information of a comparative nature is needed about them. But not only is better

information required, but a more effective delivery system for this information is needed.

There are some especially serious shortcomings in available information concerning postsecondary education for the so-called "non-traditional" students, not served by high school counseling programs and who are not reached by many other existing information sources. These people include high school dropouts, older individuals who after a period of work or childrearing desire to enter or to return to college, people contemplating a career change or in need of retraining, prisoners, housewives, and senior citizens. Many other groups could undoubtedly be identified, but the basic point that these potential students have no central access to information on educational opportunities remains equally valid for each group.

● COMMUNITY-BASED REGIONAL COUNSELING AS AN ALTERNATIVE

What is urgently needed if all these groups—regular high school students, low-income and minority students, and the nontraditional students—are to fully utilize existing educational resources, is a counseling delivery system that can draw on an information bank covering all available educational programs, and attempt to link each individual with the most appropriate kinds of institutions.

Without an information system that is easily accessible, many of the newest innovations will go unnoticed by those who might benefit the most from them, or they will become overwhelmed by the complexity of deciding among the available options. Certainly access to education is not merely a matter of availability, but access without adequate information dissemination concerning the available educational programs is a very crass form of deception. With the great diversity of potential students, and the increasing range and variety of postsecondary educational options to choose from, only a counseling system with an extremely comprehensive information base can hope to have the capabilities to assist students in making educational decisions.

Such an information system can hardly be expected to be developed and updated by the high schools, nor would any single postsecondary educational institution have the resources for, or the interest in, such a system. Counselors in the high schools remain overburdened with existing responsibilities. At the college and university level, the focus of counseling responsibilities is appropriately on the campus. Thus, only an independent agency, not directly connected to an educational institution, could effectively develop a "community-based" counseling information system. Such a program would be community-based in the sense that its clientele would be drawn not just from the high school and college student population, but from a much broader segment of the population in a given area, taking into account both out-of-school youth and the non-traditional adult students.

The most logical agency to administer community-based counseling and educational information programs would be individual state coordinating boards, designated in the 1972 Higher Education Amendments as "1202 Commissions." The funding for such centers could best be achieved through some combination of Federal and state effort, possibly with the widely utilized 75% Federal and 25% state matching funds formula. Access to postsecondary education, which such programs would directly serve, has long been acknowledged as a Federal responsibility, and clearly such initiative must come from the Federal government. The state 1202 boards would be responsible for insuring compliance with Federal legislation and guidelines, the designation of appropriate geographical regions within each state to be served by individual centers, and additionally, with the evaluation of their performance.

The specification of appropriate regional areas for the establishment of counseling centers is a job best left to the state 1202 agencies that are familiar with local situations, the proximity of educational resources, and who can integrate such efforts into the overall state planning process. In some cases, a single metropolitan area may be designated as a region, whereas in other large urban areas it may be necessary to designate several regions to be served by individual centers. In rural areas, however, a region might well incorporate several counties under its purview.

Each center should be assisted in its operation by a local advisory board, broadly representative of the community it is serving. The specific composition of any advisory board will to some extent be conditioned by the regional organization of educational, governmental and industrial agencies, but Federal legislation should mandate that representatives from all educational sectors, civic groups, specific governmental agencies, industry, the media, and general community and student members be included on the board. Strong local initiative should be given to each center, within certain broad mandates and guidelines, as it is only at this level that policy can be developed which is responsive to "community" needs and resources. The 1202 commissions should be responsible for the actual selection of advisory board members, based on an open nomination process. Of chief concern is that the board be dominated by no single institutional interest, and that it be strongly client oriented.

● CLIENT-RELATED FUNCTIONS OF A CENTER

The most important objective of such regional centers would be to establish themselves as an accepted and well-known source of information on postsecondary educational opportunities. The primary responsibilities of its staff would be to gather and provide this information to "clients." Central to this mission is the development and maintenance of a client perspective, rather than the typical institutional orientation. Such centers would ideally serve the important but often neglected function of being "advocates for access" to postsecondary education, and would assist a wide range of individuals seeking many different kinds of programs.

Three directly client-related functions can be identified which all counseling centers would eventually perform. The first and most basic function is that of *information dissemination.* This involves compiling detailed descriptions of postsecondary educational programs, information on educational programs, information on educational costs and financing alternatives as well as specifying the possible occupational outcomes of different fields of study. Descriptions of possible career alternatives form an integral part of an educational information and counseling system. While it is true that the recent "careerism" emphasis being given some guidance programs may have swung too far away from an educational orientation, the relationship between educational certification and the occupational structure should be made clearer, so that

prospective students can better understand what kinds of careers a given program might lead to.

Ideally, an educational information system, with supplementary data on possible career paths, could be utilized from either direction. A prospective student could then specify possible career choices and receive information on appropriate educational programs, or could express certain interests in a field of study and receive information on possible career paths. But it is of the utmost importance to maintain the primacy of the *educational* emphasis in regional counseling centers rather than to establish them with too much emphasis on either manpower or employment functions, which are presently the responsibility of other governmental agencies. Each center would have some subsidiary functions of referral to appropriate local, state or Federal agencies in the case of manpower training programs and employment placement, but should not become directly involved with counseling in these areas.

● A COMPUTERIZED INFORMATION SYSTEM

The development of such an information system will undoubtedly have to utilize computer technology if it is to be effective. As noted in a report of the California Postsecondary Education Commission, "any guidance program designed for large-scale public use will eventually have to employ the computer" (State of California, California Postsecondary Education Commission, 1974, p. 5). This report notes that the computer possesses several indisputable advantages over other technologies:

1. It can store, retrieve, and relate vast quantities of data.
2. It can simulate a conversation and respond to the demands of individual users.
3. It can repeat the same process with unfailing accuracy innumerable times.
4. Its information can be easily revised and updated.
5. It can be operated economically in comparison to any other means of accomplishing the same functions.

Several computerized systems of this type are already in existence, most notably the state of Oregon's Career Information System, and the Computerized Vocational Information System (CVIS) developed in Illinois. Such a system could be operated on a state-wide basis by the 1202 Commission and utilized by high schools and colleges, as well as by regional counseling centers. Information for input into the system would be gathered and continually updated by each regional center for its area, but each center would also have access to information developed by all other regional centers. Undoubtedly, the majority of inquiries would be concerned with regional resources, but access to state-wide information would be vital for many potential students, who might either be changing their residence or seeking a program not available in their locale. The previously cited California report goes on to make the important point that:

> ***Most authorities concede the present technology is well ahead of the imagination necessary to use computers effectively as a guidance tool. The computer is not likely to replace the human encounter as the essential occurrence in the guidance function, but it is already capable of greatly facilitating the counselors effectiveness by providing the kind of informational base necessary for good decisions*** (p. 7).

● OUTREACH AND INDIVIDUAL COUNSELING: THE TARGET POPULATION

The development of such an information system will form the core of regional counseling center programs, but without incorporating two other client functions, it would likely not be worth the investment. These functions are outreach services and individual counseling services. But the utilization of these two services, and the objectives they achieve, will to a great extent be dependent upon what clientele the centers identify as their target group. This choice will be unavoidably conditioned by the social and economic characteristics of the region served by a particular center. Very broadly, however, (and with obvious overlap) three different clientele groups can be distinguished. These are the regular high school students, low-income and minority groups, and the new "non-traditional" students.

While regional centers should be open to the general public, their outreach and individual counseling services should be targeted to those groups traditionally without such services, namely the low-income/minority groups and the non-traditional students. Outreach services should be oriented to making the target population aware of the centers' services and of possible opportunities in postsecondary education. This would include extensive use of the media, including newspapers, television and radio, as well as public programs, displays and exhibits at such places as shopping centers, hospitals, prisons, senior citizens organizations, and so on. Such outreach services should be aggressive in nature, as it is inadequate for regional centers to merely possess good information; they must make their target groups aware that it is readily available to them.

Individual counseling at regional centers will be an important but not a dominant function. Many requests for information will probably be able to be satisfied by mail or by phone through the use of a simple fact sheet. Extensive one-to-one counseling is probably also an unrealistic goal given the large size of the clienteles to be served. As the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education has pointed out (*Continuity and Discontinuity*, 1973, p. 48), information systems should *not* be solely dependent on a one-to-one student counselor relationship. The Commission concluded that:

> ***Too much information has been focused in the past upon the counselor himself as a source of guidance. The future calls for a counseling system in which the student makes his own decisions based upon information from many sources.***

Regional centers, while not targeting their outreach and counseling services to regular high school students who are currently best served by existing guidance programs, will pro-

vide significant services indirectly to this clientele. They will benefit from the development of a computerized educational information system, which should be made available as part of every high school's counseling and career guidance program. Secondly, regional centers can serve as an in-service training mechanism for high school counselors as well as for other local agencies, providing periodic workshops, written materials, and other assistance as needed. Indeed, the postsecondary educational information system should be as widely utilized as possible, for once initial costs have been met, the unit costs for operation of such a system are quite small.

While regional centers would undoubtedly start their operations with a central, easily accessible office that will house both administrative and computer operations, it can be expected that many centers would need to expand their operations, and set up several small "neighborhood" or store-front centers for easy drop-in information and community visibility. Several permanent branch locations might be established. Portable displays could be moved around the region to different shopping centers, libraries, fairs, and so on. The kinds of possibilities are very great, and each regional center should have the incentives and the flexibility to experiment with such practices.

Regional centers need not, and probably should not, be staffed solely by "professionals." Such an operation would undoubtedly be expensive, but more importantly the environment might well scare off some people. Much of the staff work could be undertaken by para-professionals, with a small core staff of specially trained professional counselors and information specialists. The use of community volunteers, local students, and members of the target clientele who have experienced similar situations and with a personal understanding of the problems, could all be of great value to regional centers. Their participation should be encouraged.

The development of community-based regional counseling centers will go a long way towards eliminating the information gaps which make postsecondary education an "inaccessible opportunity" for so many people. The Federal government, through one or a combination of agencies, should be encouraged to provide funding for the development of a number of pilot centers, and as their experiences are evaluated, such programs should be initiated in every state through 1202 agencies. Regional counseling centers will be able to extend critical guidance and advising services to those groups not served by present systems, and will also be able to greatly supplement and coordinate the efforts of existing counseling programs. With the number of postsecondary educational options becoming increasingly complex, and the students to be served more diverse, some coordinated form of information dissemination and counseling services are essential. A client-oriented delivery system can bridge this gap, and no longer leave to chance the important linkage between individual educational and career interests and appropriate postsecondary institutions and programs.

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by Frank Motley

Meeting the Information Needs of Minority Students

The information needs of minority students about post-secondary education are simple: they need to know *everything.* They need to know at a fundamental level what post-secondary education will do for them. They need to know what psychic, cultural and educational benefits they will receive. Precisely because minority youth and adults have, in most cases, been systematically excluded from most post-secondary learning situations, the need for information is basic and fundamentally inclusive. In a technological society, the way out of poverty is to master the skills which are needed to support that technocracy. This is the basic knowledge which has been kept from the poor and minority peoples. The way out of low income minority status is through high and middle income jobs heretofore held by the white majority.

Non-minority students often discover the path, and directions for the path to postsecondary educational opportunities at an early age. Through their parents, who in many cases are trained past the high school level, they are socialized into middle class job aspirations.

In many ways, it is a testimonial to their resilience as a people that minority students—after decades of poor teaching, segregated schooling and educational stigmatization—seek to obtain post high school education or training. The minority student often feels and is made to feel (a) racially and ethnically inferior, (b) socially inferior, and (c) educationally inferior. The minority student is frequently made keenly aware that he or she is a "minority" and that his or her interests are somehow slowing up the progress of the majority.

Less abstractly, the information needs of minority students can be viewed in the following way:

1. Minority students, as a whole, are aware of the "real" world relationship between getting a job and,

   a. discrimination based upon race and cultural or ethnic heritage;

   b. discrimination based upon superficial educational requirements;

   c. discrimination based upon life-style and personality.

2. Minority students have little experience with professional jobs. Lessons in punctuality, how to answer the phone, modification of behavior in order to serve the public, business record-keeping procedures, and so on, are usually learned abruptly.

3. Minority students frequently enter into the job market, and into specific industries, when it is too late, after the marketability of the skills of that industry have peaked and about to decline. Minority students need to be channeled into "future oriented" industries where the skills they learn will be valuable in later years.

4. Minority students must be given information as to the link between:

   a. jobs and education;

   b. jobs and ethnic discrimination;

   c. jobs and present industry predictions;

   d. jobs and social status;

   e. jobs and income.

The above stress on "jobs" reflects the orientation of most minority people. They often exist at a subsistence level. A job is the steady, reliable, necessary, and all-important means by which they survive. The system–the employer, the government, the schools–reinforce this notion; it serves to keep a stable labor force.

This implicit indoctrination has succeeded to a level where postsecondary education is viewed solely as a means of "getting a job." Rather than frontally and directly attacking this position, the better tactic is to show the necessity of postsecondary education as a means of increasing the client's "job oriented" ambition.

Various federal programs have been designed to attack the problems of inadequate educational opportunities for minority youth. The mass of information needed by prospective students, and the variety of services required to meet those needs have dictated a largely community-based approach.

Following sections will examine federal programs currently in operation, focusing on the TRIO programs–Talent Search, Upward Bound, and Special Services for Disadvantaged Students–as well as the newer Educational Opportunity Centers. An attempt will be made to evaluate the success of these programs in serving as an effective liaison between minority youth and postsecondary educational institutions.

Trio Programs

Three main programs are designed to bring educational opportunities to thousands of young people who would otherwise be cut off from higher educational goals and aspirations. These three programs–Talent Search, Upward Bound, and Special Services for Disadvantaged Students–are separate and distinct programs with one common goal: to increase the number of socially handicapped and low-income students who are involved in postsecondary education.

TRIO programs operate in all 50 states, the District of Columbia, Guam, Puerto Rico, and the Virgin Islands. The programs are administered by the ten departments of HEW Regional Offices of Education under the aegis of the Bureau of Higher Education's Division of Student Assistance. The program's funding authorization is under Title III of the Amended Higher Education Act of 1965. TRIO programs are "forward funded" programs–that is, funds allocated in a given fiscal year are used to operate the program in following years.

The primary criterion for eligibility in the TRIO programs is low income. Because the majority of low-income families in many parts of the country belong to ethnic minorities, large numbers of the clientele are ethnic minorities. For example, it is estimated that each year over 45,000 Spanish-surnamed, 25,000 American Indian, and 90,000 black youngsters are participating in one or more TRIO programs.

Additionally, the project administrators are encouraged to select staff personnel who reflect the general character of their target populations, on the theory that staff members and students will communicate more effectively if they share similar background and environments.

● TALENT SEARCH

The Talent Search programs focus on young people from low-income families who have been discouraged by their high school experience but who have exceptional potential for postsecondary education. It encourages them to complete high school and to continue their learning. Students are provided with specific information about educational programs and opportunities in colleges and universities, vocational and technical schools, and on-the-job training. They also receive placement assistance and are directed to sources of financial aid.

The services of Talent Search are available to students from seventh grade through high school and college. Talent Search staff members work with these potential students in groups or through individual counseling. It is estimated that over 125,000 individuals received assistance through 104 projects that were supported by an average five million dollar federal allocation per fiscal year.

● UPWARD BOUND

The Upward Bound program selects students on the basis of financial need and high risk for academic success in college. This is the student who shows promise of ability but has been turned off by the traditional values of the school system. If left to his or her own devices, this student would lack the educational preparation to even consider postsecondary education.

Students are recruited to participate in the program at the end of their 10th or 11th grade, and are given intensive preparation for entry into postsecondary education. The usual preparation includes a residential summer on a campus where students enroll in special classes and take part in a variety of cultural and social activities. During the school year, tutoring and counseling services are available to help the students gain and strengthen academic skills.

The track record of the Upward Bound program is good–over 68% of the Upward Bound graduates enroll in college with an additional 6% planning to enter other postsecondary educational programs.

● SPECIAL SERVICES FOR DISADVANTAGED STUDENTS

Special Services for Disadvantaged Students programs are designed to increase the number of low income and physically handicapped students in institutions of higher education who may suffer from academic deficiencies, physical impairment, or lack of financial resources. Its objective is to help more of these students to remain in school, and to complete programs of postsecondary education once they are admitted. To meet this goal, Special Services funds comprehensive programs that consider a student's total needs and situation–academic, social and financial.

Conclusions

1. TRIO programs are working. They have a good track record with the institutions with which they are associated.
2. These "connections" with institutions are important both to encourage the minority student that there is access to postsecondary education and to the institution, by showing it how to service minority students within its own educational context.
3. TRIO programs need the computer-based information available through Educational Opportunity Centers.
4. TRIO programs need an intermediary but friendly component which is *not* institutionally related but is located in, and responsive to, and representative of, the community. Such a unit would be the ideal organ to channel students to the institutionally-based TRIO programs.
5. TRIO programs need to be better coordinated, planned, and funded. This need not be through Educational Opportunity Centers but perhaps through a more practical centralization or reorganization of the TRIO program itself.

Educational Opportunity Centers

In the Spring of 1972, Congress amended the Higher Education Act of 1965 to include the establishment of a new concept in educational delivery systems—Educational Opportunity Centers (EOC).

The purpose of these centers was to provide, in cooperation and coordination with other governmental and private programs and services:

1. Information about financial aid and academic assistance.
2. Advice and assistance in preparing for and applying to postsecondary educational institutions.
3. Counseling, tutorial, and other assistance while the student is in these postsecondary institutions.

The centers are located in areas with major concentrations of low income populations, and the latter is to be their target population. The EOCs were conceptually designed to serve as recruiting and counseling pools for various postsecondary educational institutions in their efforts to admit educationally disadvantaged and low income students.

Whether or not the Educational Opportunity Center is able to achieve the multipurpose goals for which it was designed is contingent upon many factors. Primary among these are:

a. The funding and personnel levels of the various EOCs;

b. The ability of the EOC to gain attention and confidence of the general target population;

c. The ability of the EOC to disseminate the available information to the potential student in a comprehensive and viable format;

d. The political and administrative ability of the EOC to assist with the potential student's ancillary problems, such as obtaining welfare or food stamps, getting a job, getting an apartment, and so on;

e. The EOC's ability to establish an effective working relationship with other and similar programs, such as TRIO, and with the local postsecondary educational institutions;

f. The EOC's ability to upgrade the potential student's skills sufficiently so that he or she can enter the postsecondary educational institution;

g. The EOC's ability to offer specialized tutorial assistance to students who are enrolled in postsecondary institutions.

Overcoming the above hurdles seems to be the key to the success of the EOC concept. Research and interviews with EOC personnel seemed to highlight several recurrent themes. They will be discussed below with reference to the various EOCs examined:

• Funding and Personnel Levels

When compared to other human services programs funded during the Nixon years, Educational Opportunity Center funding has been generous. When related, however, to the numerous tasks it is intended to perform, the funding level is modest, if not totally inadequate.

Funding is of primary importance because it affects the quality and quantity of good counselors, street workers, clerical assistants, and specialists which an effective EOC requires. Moreover, proper funding increases the quality and quantity of information, such as books, brochures, catalogues, and so on in the EOC libraries.

During the course of my research, perhaps the most discouraging discovery about the EOCs was that few of the centers had any significant amount of literature on postsecondary educational institutions and opportunities. The attitude seemed to be that the student could write and get a catalogue or brochure, or pick it up at the college, or that giving them out would be too expensive and unproductive. The books which were available, in many instances, seemed to be for the benefit of the staff, not for the potential student.

Special attention needs to be focused on ways of informing the client population about the existence and purpose of Educational Opportunity Centers. This is a particularly difficult problem for an EOC for two reasons: first, there is not a substantial budgetary allotment for publicity and advertisements, and secondly, the usual periodicals and programs which might carry these advertisements are not likely to be geared toward the client population.

For depressed communities, the best advertisement is office and worker visibility. The most successful EOC operations were located in the heart of the target areas, or were strategically located near welfare and social services offices. Equally effective were those EOCs which had an experienced group of street workers.

- Ability to Gain Attention and Confidence

Special types of appeals and presentations have to be made to attract the target population of low income and educationally disadvantaged students. Additionally, the message which goes out must appeal to the poor—not just blacks, whites, young or old. Thus there may be a need for many kinds of appeals to cover the various groups of the poor.

- Ability to Disseminate

Assuming that an Educational Opportunity Center itself *has* the information (and from the previous discussion about the library facilities, this assumption is questionable), the problem for the EOC is to present information to the client in such a manner that it does not scare him or her away by the complexity of the requirements and the level of the prose. The client must be made aware of the "bottom-line", or the absolute minimum requirements, for admissions and financial aid. Without the guidance, and in some cases, the translating, which the EOC staff must be able to do, the client will be turned off by the brochures of many postsecondary educational institutions. Competent staff must have patience and the ability to navigate the potential student through the confused waters of college entrance.

Regrettably, many of the Educational Opportunity Centers I saw did not have the ability to deliver much other than the basic information about local colleges and technical schools. When asked about this problem, the response was honest, "our students are usually not interested in out of state schools. There are almost too many programs in just this region of the state for our counselors to keep up on; it would be impossible to ask them to know all fifty states."

- Solving Ancillary Problems of Clients

It is essential that the client receive assistance in solving tangential problems in order to relieve him or her of the external impediments to embarking upon postsecondary studies. For example, the welfare mother who is worried about getting food stamps for herself or housing for her family cannot devote time or attention to applications, or, if in school, to her school work. Only if the EOC can effectively deliver on some of these "bread 'n butter" day-to-day issues will the target population respond positively to the EOC as a positive force in their lives.

- Working Relationship with Other Programs and Postsecondary Institutions

The strength of the EOC concept is that it is not instituionally-based, but community-based. This is also its greatest weakness.

Programs which are institution-based tend to be able to encourage those institutions to accept substantial members of their target populations. Programs which are not institutionally-based tend not to be able to exercise that same leverage. Thus, the target population sometimes does not benefit from this relation.

Additionally, a program which is "community-based" receives as much respect, sympathy and power as does the community from which it springs. It is well known that poor communities are usually politically impotent and socially ostracized. Thus, little political or social influence is available for the EOC to exercise upon local postsecondary educational institutions.

Nonetheless, the success of any Educational Opportunity Center is contingent upon its ability to "deliver" to the community. Necessarily, the EOCs have had to court independently and cajole many local institutions into cooperation, primarily playing upon the institution's social responsibility. Needless to say, as budget crunches increase, social responsibility and institutional cooperation will decrease.

An additional problem is that the federal legislation empowers the Educational Opportunity Center to act as a clearinghouse of data, and as a coordination center for student services-oriented programs, but it gives the EOC no power to enforce this function among other governmental related programs, such as TRIO, and does not direct them to cooperate or coordinate their activities with the various EOCs. This is not to say that there has not been contact, support or cooperation—there has been. But it is not the rule and it is not the current flow of thinking in either camp.

- Upgrading Skills

There are some basic skills which the postsecondary educational institution will expect the client to possess upon entering. It is the job of the Educational Opportunity Center to work with that student to develop these skills. Usually the GED, a high school equivalency certificate, is sufficient for entrance, but there are numerous study skills which must be mastered before one can truly expect the client from a low income and educationally deprived background to compete with better prepared students. The EOC must work continuously to help the client before admission, once admitted and throughout attendance at the institution.

The Educational Opportunity Center is best envisioned as a half-way house for the educationally disadvantaged. It would be a place where one could go and obtain a great deal more besides food and shelter. The potential student needs a sense of direction, an orientation, and a sense of belonging for a while.

Potential students must have learned in the EOC those skills which will keep them in school. These skills are not simply what will earn them the necessary GED, but also the skills of self-confidence, the skill of asking a question in a way which will produce information and not rhetoric, and the skill of effective interpersonal communication.

- Specialized Tutorial Assistance

The Educational Opportunity Center's job continues even after the student is admitted. This job is complicated, however, by the fact that if the EOC is doing a good job, the clients will be attending many varied and specialized postsecondary educational institutions—4 year colleges, 2 year colleges, nurs-

ing schools, agriculture programs, mechanical schools, and so on. Each type of school, each program, each specialty, each vocation will have a different curriculum and a different discipline.

The EOC is charged with helping to tutor students regardless of the number and variety of disciplines. Maintaining a sufficient number of tutors is clearly a problem. The staff cannot be expected to have that wide a range of specialists nor does there seem to be a sufficient budget to employ outside "tutors." The problem was not frontally dealt with in the legislation.

Conclusions

Any attempt to evaluate the usefulness of the Educational Opportunity Center concept must, of necessity, focus on the specific types of centers incorporated into the program. While some EOCs are simple, regional or community-based centers, others, like the New York City model, are non-regional and computer-based. It is this latter type which represents the most significant departure from previous models, and thus, should be most fully examined.

The computer-based Educational Opportunity Center has a clear, nonthreatening, service function. It supplies needed information to all groups, associations, or individuals in the target area. By having a clear function, purpose, and activity, it is easier to monitor and to gauge effectiveness, such as how many people were actually serviced, placed, completed the program, and so on. By being primarily an information storage bank, the computer-based EOC does not threaten, other than by the legislative pronouncements in the original act, the TRIO programs. Thus intra-agency feuding, an implicit impediment, to the proper provision of services to the minorities, is eliminated. It should be noted that the TRIO programs are needed by the EOC because they have institutional support, contacts, and financial clout which the EOC does not have. The elimination of either of these programs would weaken the effectiveness of service to the intended populations.

The computer-based EOC can also adjust and respond more rapidly to substantive changes in the characteristics of its target population and the target post-secondary institutions it serves than is possible by the non-computer-based EOCs. For example, changes in curriculum offerings, financial aid, or pre-entrance requirements can be easily put into the computer and continually updated; such information tends to simply pile up on the desks of the EOC staff. It is humanly impossible to be able to absorb, retain, and disseminate all the information which becomes available and changes on a daily basis.

The portableness of the computer-based terminals and the potential for cross-referencing of various data maintained by the various Educational Opportunity Centers across the country, makes the computer-based EOC strikingly more attractive to support.

Of course, the bad aspect of the computer-based program is that it lacks the visible warmth of personal contact and individualized concern which the other EOCs possessed. Because the computer-based EOC can accommodate and service so many students, the tendency toward "assembly line service" is hard to overcome. The computer-based facilities—at least the central offices—tend to lack the welcoming warmth and community image which would relax the majority of its clients.

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by Jennifer Ryan

Factors Affecting Postsecondary Educational Decision-Making by Women

The messages which operate in defining a female's role begin long before she enters the educational system. They are developed and reinforced by her environment throughout childhood and as she moves through elementary and secondary school. By the time she begins to make career and postsecondary education decisions, an elaborate maze of structures define the options from which she will choose. The entire education system supports and encourages these limitations on female aspiration by explicit interdiction and covert obstruction operating at every level. "Unequal treatment of the sexes," an HEW Office of Education study pointed out, "is the rule in education, not the exception." (Knox and Others, 1972, p. 2).

PATTERNS OF POSTSECONDARY ATTENDANCE

As they move into jobs and into postsecondary educational programs, women do not follow the same courses as men. In the United States, 10 million students are enrolled in institutions of higher education. While women represent only slightly less than half of all postsecondary students (45 percent), they choose fields in which women are either grossly over- or under-represented (National Center for Education Statistics, 1974). For example, programs which educate elementary school teachers and nurses are filled almost exclusively with females. By contrast, the number of females earning doctorates in many fields including agriculture, architecture, business, engineering, forestry, geography, health professions, law, mathematics, physical sciences, and economics, composes under 10 percent of the total (Women's Equity Action League, 1971).

Women, both as undergraduate and graduate students, are more inclined than men to attend college part-time. In public institutions, which account for about 80 percent of students enrolled in higher education, 45 percent of all women students attend part-time. By comparison, 37 percent of all men students enrolled in postsecondary educational programs attend part-time. (National Center for Education Statistics, December, 1974).

Older women are going back to school in substantial numbers. In 1972, 14 percent of all women attending college were over 35, and that number is presumed to have grown (Watkins, 1974, p. 6-7). These women are described by Watkins in *The Chronicle of Higher Education* (p. 6-7) as "more often a degree or credit student with career orientations."

• Career Patterns

Likewise, in work and in vocational training, a woman follows a different path than a man. Women comprise approximately 40 percent of the work force. Almost all women will work sometime during their lives. Yet women, in the majority of cases, unlike men, do not train seriously or effectively for employment. In fact, women often train in programs which neither lead to careers nor enhance their employability. Half of all women enrolled in vocational training programs are taking homemaking courses which do not prepare them for any employment (Steiger, 1974, p. 16).

Somewhere along the line "information gaps" have developed. Women's educational and career decisions are not a function of their future needs. In addition, stereotypes of appropriate behavior block the pursuits of women outright, regardless of their own decisions and action. Discrimination against women remains a fact in education and in the national work force.

- Admission and Student Financial Assistance

For women, the financial aid picture is bleak. While many students, male and female, receive financial assistance meeting only a fraction of their costs, a female's plight is worse than that of her male counterpart.

Overall, the average grants to women are substantially less than awards to men. According to an Educational Testing Service study conducted in 1972, female students, despite their greater need, average $215 less financial aid than men (Haven and Horch, 1972).

Further, women are more likely than men to receive financial aid in the form of repayable loans or conditional grants rather than unrestricted scholarships. The ETS study further concluded than women have greater financial need. Yet despite this fact, they receive less aid than men in proportion to their numbers in the student population in every category: institutional awards, Educational Opportunity Grants, college scholarships and grants, state scholarships and grants, and private awards (*Women's Stake in Low Tuition,* 1974, p. 2-6). The most blatant inequity in student financial aid is in the awarding of hundreds of thousands of dollars for athletic scholarships. Women receive less than 0.1 percent of the 50,000 awards made annually (Doyle, 1974, p. 22).

Women are still refused admission or discriminated against in selection to some undergraduate programs, and despite the Title IX violation, suffer bias in admission to graduate, professional and vocational education programs. (U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1975, p. 220-225). Women also continue to be hired in lower paying and lower status jobs, receive fewer and smaller wages and increases, and work in positions which underutilize their skills (Doyle, p. 8-13).

- Sex Role Stereotyping in the Schools

The educational system plays a significant part in this massive bias against women. While other societal factions certainly contribute to establishing sex-role stereotypes, schools reiterate, and presumably create many sex-biased images instilled in children. From pre-school through postsecondary education, schools utilize textbooks and other curricular materials (films, tapes, pictures, and so on), which portray people only in traditional sex roles. Teaching practices further support standard patterns of sex differentiation.

In the schools, ability grouping, which begins as early as first or second grade, affects the sex roles students assume, and, by extension, influences their career and postsecondary educational decisions. While ability grouping, known as "tracking," has certain advantages, such as providing some students with enriched programs, the side effects of the system may override its positive aspects.

Tracking systems have consistently placed female students in certain groupings and male students in other. Young girls are tracked into high level reading programs, and boys into high level mathematics programs. By junior high school, girls show a substantial drop in mathematical ability as compared to boys of the same age group, who maintain the same level of ability. Whether such ability differentiation stems from a biological distinction between the sexes remains to be seen. Nonetheless, early tracking undoubtedly affects the development of a child's self-image, and discourages her or him from pursuing activities which fall outside of the defined image. As a girl reaches her middle teens, her prospects for breaking out of the traditional mold are slim. Although long-standing patterns are beginning to change, one recent study showed that only 8 percent of the women in vocational education programs are training in traditionally male fields (Steiger, 1974, p. 19). Among college women, only 6.5 percent have planned careers outside of the traditional female occupations of teacher, counselor or social worker, nurse, librarian, and housewife (Karman, 1973, p. 4). Women apparently do not perceive the variety of options possible in careers and education. Information from many sources contributes to a woman's concept of her options, including family and friends, educational institutions, the media, and non-school formal associations.

● SIGNIFICANT INFLUENCES ON SEX ROLE FORMATION AND EDUCATIONAL CHOICES

The earliest influence on a person's role comes from the home. From birth, parents convey specific role expectations to their children. These messages include presumptions regarding their children's educational and occupational directions. Further, from the early years, expectations of siblings and friends influence a child. Sex role definitions accepted by peers sway girls' definitions of their own identity. Particularly important individuals, such as boyfriends, seem to be important factors in a young woman's decisions about her future.

- Teachers and Counselors

Teachers, especially those who have close relationships with their students, also seem to affect female students' career decisions, because of their direct control over a substantial amount of a student's time. Counselors and the counseling system, too, have substantial influence over girls' plans. Since they provide the formal mechanism for conveying college and occupational information, they have the means to be highly influential. Often, biases in the counseling system result in students receiving inaccurate and inappropriate information.

- Media Influences

In addition to information provided by people with whom a student comes into contact, messages also come from other elements in the student's environment. The mass media which impinges on all Americans obviously has its influence on teenagers. By the age of 18 the average person has spent as much time in front of a television set as in school. Technical and vocational schools, and more recently, colleges and universities, advertise on television. Many postsecondary educational institutions as well as potential employers place ads in magazines and papers. Radio, television and periodicals directed at young adults are made up primarily of programming from the popular rock and film star culture. Teenagers form a sizeable media market. The industry has produced periodi-

cals, radio programs and television shows directed exclusively at the teenage audience, and in some cases at the female teenage audience.

• Social and Community Organizations

Social and community-based organizations for teenagers, through their activities and overall philosophy, are the source of many young people's formative planning. Girl Scouts, Camp Fire Girls, school service clubs, and even high school feminist groups all have the power to reinforce established elements, or to evoke development of a new element in a young woman's identity. The degree to which such organizations provide opportunities for new experiences and encourage girls to examine a broad spectrum of options, affects a girl's planning and decision-making processes when she evaluates career and training possibilities.

• Family and Friends

Parents, siblings and friends are perhaps the greatest influence on a young woman's post high school plans. Not only do these individuals comprise the most important elements in a girl's environment but they are recognized by young women examining their postsecondary educational plans as highly influential.

• A Hierarchy of Influences

In a study conducted by David B. Schadt of the University of Nebraska (1974, p. 10) recent high school graduates and their parents were asked to define the major influences in the graduates' post high school plans. Both parents and students viewed the graduate him or herself to have been the most important factor in career and education decisions. Students viewed their parents as being the second most influential. Some 43 percent of female graduates chose their mother as being the most influential more often than they chose their father (35 percent). Male graduates, on the other hand, looked to their fathers (41 percent) to direct them in their occupations and educational choices after high school rather than their mothers (29 percent).

In the Schadt study, peer influence on post high school plans has been ranked by both recent high school graduates and their parents as nominally influential in their decision-making. Parents felt that brothers and sisters were the fourth most influential force in the student's decision. Friends' influence, including boyfriends, girlfriends, and spouses, ranked, according to the parents, as about as significant as siblings. The high school students also ranked friends and siblings as the fourth most influential element in their decisions. Approximately half of the students viewed siblings and friends as being "somewhat influential" in their decisions. Of those who had elder brothers and sisters, three-fourths rated their siblings as having a "great deal of influence" or as being "somewhat influential," and a third of the students saw elder siblings as being the most influential on their decisions (pp. 14-15).

Naturally such indicators of the decision-making process leave out the influence of the larger social environment and the role expectations generated by that environment. That virtually all students (93 percent) surveyed by Schadt identified themselves as having a "great deal" of influence in their postsecondary decisions indicates that the role development that takes place prior to making career and educational decisions is overwhelmingly important.

• Traditional Expectations of Peers

Recent studies demonstrate that high school boys and girls hold fairly consistent and traditional expectations for the educational and occupational roles of females is magnified. One survey conducted by the Arkansas Governors Commission on the Status of Women showed that 23 percent of the girls and 39 percent of the boys believed that "most girls will become housewives and never work outside the home." Further, 30 percent of the girls and almost half of the boys believed that "women should stick to women's jobs and not compete with men." (Patrick, 1972, cited in Steiger, p. 23).

No studies I encountered have examined the influence of boyfriends on the postsecondary educational plans of high school girls. While it can be presumed from the evidence of spouses influence on married women that they do play an important role in affecting these decisions, documentation needs to be developed. If their influence appears to be significant, and if most high school girls maintain that boyfriends hold such influence over them, perhaps greater concern should be directed at the male perception of female career and educational roles.

• INFLUENCE OF EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS ON SCHOOL AND CAREER CHOICES

Educational institutions themselves are another major influence in educational decision-making. In the course of counseling and guiding students, they continually provide "messages." Teachers, who are in constant contact with students, play an influential role in shaping their students' ideas. Teachers' attitudes about sex roles are usually reflected in their curriculum, and therefore are likely to be transferred to their students. They also serve as role models. Almost half of the women in college intend to pursue a teaching career. Teaching, a profession where salary and professional status improve with the increase in the age of the group taught, has a high concentration of women teaching at the primary levels and only a few women instructing college students. Within the schools, the supervisory positions are held primarily by men, with only 15 percent of the high school principalships and fewer than one percent of the superintendancies held by women. (Knox, p. 15).

Counseling is the second largest career choice of college women. Girls tend to utilize the guidance resources of their teachers and counselors more than boys. Further, high school teachers tend to initiate discussions of future plans with female students more than with male students. The previously cited Schadt study showed that over a third of the females

discussed their future plans "often" with their teachers. Only 18 percent of the girls, compared with 27 percent of the boys reported they "never" discussed their plans with their teachers. Of the females, 35 percent discussed postsecondary educational options "often" with a guidance counselor, and 32 percent of the male high school students discussed postsecondary educational options "often" with a high school guidance counselor.

Females, however, perceived their teachers as affecting their decisions about post high school choices more than males did with 57 percent of the females and 44 percent of the males calling their teachers "influential" in their postsecondary educational plans. Teachers, in some two-thirds of the cases, reportedly initiated discussion of future plans with female students. These findings would seem to indicate that the high school teacher is at least as important a source of educational and occupational guidance as a school counselor.

• Curricular Choice as it Affects Postsecondary Educational Options

The educational system, in addition to shaping a young woman's identity with regard to her role, also serves to provide direction and guidance in career and educational decisions. Not only do the system's agents, teachers and counselors, advise on post high school options, but they also direct secondary level decisions which serve to expand or narrow the student's later alternatives.

A study which illuminates the influence of secondary educational decisions as limiting postsecondary educational options, was conducted by Lucy W. Sells at the University of California, Berkeley. Her study illustrates the impact of biased counseling. Sells (1973) points out that females lack a strong mathematical background as they enter postsecondary education due to the fact that they are unlikely to study math beyond the minimum required for graduation. Sells' study only examined students at the University of California, but it can be inferred that other institutions would produce similar results in their students. From a random sample of applicants for freshman admissions, Sells compared the high school transcripts in mathematics courses. As revealed in the table below, Sells found that while most Berkeley freshmen women, 64 percent, had taken at least three years of math, only 8 percent had taken four years of high school math. A majority of men, 57 percent, on the other hand, had taken a fourth year of math. Very few men, only 7 percent, had taken less than three years of math, (p. 1).

EXACT YEARS OF HIGH SCHOOL MATH BY SEX, 1972—BERKELEY APPLICANTS FOR ADMISSIONS AS FRESHMEN (in percents)

Mathematics	Boys	Girls	Total
2 years	7	36	21
3 years	36	56	46
4 years	57	8	33
TOTAL	100	100	100

(Sells, p.1)

At many institutions, and certainly at Berkeley, a student without the fourth year of high school mathematics suffers de facto exclusion from most science majors, business administration, and several majors in the social sciences. Even when a student can make up the deficiency, other obstacles often discourage her or him from electing that alternative. For example, students often find that remedial courses do not carry regular credit, despite the fact that they often consume as much or more time than for-credit courses. Course sequences in a student's major program often impose an unrealistic burden on anyone who is unable to follow the usual pattern. Another major deterrent is the comparative difficulty of introductory college math courses for students with time lapses since their last exposure to mathematics. A student who has not taken a mathematics course since junior year of high school usually has more difficulty with simple concepts than the students who has been recently or continually exposed to math. College mathematics courses tend to cover more difficult material in a shorter period of time than high school courses.

Helen Astin, in "Young Women and Their Roles," (1972), discusses the implications of poor mathematics training for young women. In her review of several studies, Astin explains that the effects of mathematics ability on career aspiration is much greater on girls than on boys. In one study, Astin attempted to isolate the significant variables in career decisions for young women between the 12th grade and five years after high school. For both studies, using female samples, high mathematical aptitude as measured by standardized tests was the best predictor of career plans in the sciences, professions and teaching as opposed to plans to be a homemaker or to do office work. Astin proposes that the best way to give young women a fair chance to choose options may be to return to a more rigid structure in the secondary schools and require all students to take more mathematics.

• Counseling About Postsecondary Educational and Career Choices

The postsecondary guidance system, career counseling and postsecondary educational counseling, have some major flaws. Perhaps one of the most blatant cases of failure can be seen by examining the figures on postsecondary vocational education programs pursued by women. As mentioned earlier, nationwide, half of all women enrolled in vocational training programs are taking homemaking courses which do not prepare them for any employment. Another 30 percent are training for clerical jobs, one of the lowest paid categories. Only five percent of the women, as compared with 47 percent of the men, train in trades and industries where the best money is to be made. Vocational education courses rarely improve a woman's chances for finding a job or receiving a higher salary. (Steiger, p. 16-20).

Similarly, women entering higher education often pursue studies which lead to the lowest paying jobs, or in many cases, to no job at all. Because of sex biased counseling, this responsibility for choice can, in part, be placed with the higher education institution, but at least part of the choice of college major is related to the preparatory course work taken in high school. Unfortunately, many programs in higher education institutions fulfill neither a woman's potential nor her training expectations. While both men and women suffer the problem of engaging in training programs which do not im-

prove their marketability or their market value, far more women emerge from higher education unable to find jobs for which they were trained at salaries in line with their education (Doyle, p. 11-13).

Once a woman is on campus, she is most likely to pursue a liberal arts program, while her male counterpart is more likely to pursue a scientific or professional program. Careers open to individuals with a liberal arts bachelors degree are generally limited. The second largest area of postsecondary study for females is teaching. Karman's study found that among college women, almost half intended to go into teaching, a career which is not only traditionally female, but also low paying and low status. This study further showed that three-fourths of those women surveyed intended to pursue one of five traditionally female careers: teacher, counselor, health worker (including nurse), librarian, or housewife. Another 19 percent did not know what career they intended to pursue. Thus, colleges and universities are only preparing about 6.5 percent of their women students to enter professional or non-traditional female careers, (p. 5-7).

● COUNSELING MATERIALS

The materials used by counselors to direct students serve to limit women's options. Testing mechanisms used in career guidance have discouraged many young women from aspiring to non-traditional postsecondary educational options and careers.

• Tests

Use of the Strong Vocational Interest Blank (U.S. Congress, House, 1972, p. 286) which has recently been revised to be "non-sexist" (Strong and Campbell, rev. ed. 1974), offered men thirty-three occupations which were not offered to women, including psychiatrist, author, journalist, and physicist. A young man and a young women each taking the test and filling in the same answers would have received different results. Where a man would get "dentistry" on his profile, a woman would have "dental hygiene" on hers. Other tests have similar biases. Even interest examinations which were scored consistently for males and females still have another inherent bias. Most girls, by the time they reach high school, have learned to operate under traditional values, which affect their thinking on most issues, including interest examinations. For example, while most girls and boys intend to raise families, few high school boys would say that they loved children; most girls, including those with high career aspirations, would. The effect of such an answer on an interest examination would be that of directing female students to careers dealing with children and male students away from such careers. Thus, the entire validity of interest testing as a mechanism for guidance should be seriously questioned.

Aptitude testing is similarly sex-biased. The fact that high school girls do more poorly than boys on the mathematics section of the Scholastic Aptitude Test certainly reflects their lack of high school math training (College Entrance Examination Board, 1975). Girls suffer double biases in the college admissions process because, first, they have a less extensive mathematics background, an important factor considered by admissions officers, and, secondly, because they have lower math scores on their SAT.

• Literature

The literature available to assist women in making educational and career plans is very limited. Few career guidance books are directed at the student or the parents and those that are tend to perpetuate sex role stereotypes by their distinctly male orientation. For example, some of the commonly used books differentiate career possibilities by sex, allude to the role of the professional's (male presumably) "wife" and assume that each sex has inherent attributes and failings. In such books, the recommendations made to girls are totally different than those made to boys.

While most books for younger children still maintain distinctive roles for each sex, a number of books have been published which present males and females in non-traditional occupations. These books, however, tend to be directed at the child who is several years from making concrete career and education decisions. While these books are important in shaping the overall identification of an individual they offer little to the student immediately confronting planning problems. Only a few career planning works have been published for young women in their late teens. Most notable among these is a recent College Board publication, *I Can Be Anything*, by Joyce Slayton Mitchell (1975). The book is directed primarily at high school and college age women, and describes, in detail, over ninety careers. Another recent book for women making postsecondary educational plans examines only professional careers for women. *Career Guidance for Young Women: Considerations in Planning Professional Careers*, edited by John G. Cull and Richard E. Hardy, (1974). It examines only a small number of professions, but confronts the problems of and gives intelligent explanations on each of them. The careers examined are in the following fields: medicine, dietetics, economics, the ministry, banking, speech therapy, psychology, teaching, guidance counseling, and physical sciences. The book is a well edited anthology written by individual women in the various professions. The Women's Bureau at the Department of Labor has also published a number of booklets and leaflets to help young women with their career choices.

• Catalogues and Guides

Catalogues, college guides and other publications designed to provide prospective students with an overview or a comprehensive explanation of the characteristics of institutions often assume that students will follow traditional sex role patterns. *Barron's Guide to Colleges* (Barron's Editorial Staff, 1974, pp. 40-44), for example, implies that certain programs such as nursing are composed of female students, and others of male students. College catalogues, too, sometimes provide sex-biased information on their programs. While this bias usually reflects discrimination which actually exists on campus, it also discourages females from even reaching the first step of entering higher education.

SOCIAL INFLUENCES ON SEX-ROLE

The influence of social organizations according to the Schadt study, is inconsequential in student's postsecondary educational planning except that a few felt that church organizations had slight influence. Only 6 percent of the parents, and almost none of the students felt the church had had any influence on postsecondary choices. (pp. 18-20).

• Organizations

Organizations such as Girl Scouts, Camp Fire Girls, 4-H, and social organizations' influence need be considered primarily in its effect on young women's role-identification. In the Schadt study, participation in organizations was not broken down by sex, but 97 percent of all graduates reported that they belonged to at least one volunteer organization, and 76 percent said they belonged to more than two organizations. (pp. 20-21).

The potential influence of organizations, together with their apparent lack of direct career and educational guidance should be examined primarily for their effect on young women's role identification. The largest national girls' organization in the United States, with 3.3 million members, is the Girl Scouts. 400,000 of those members are between the ages of 13 and 17. Girl Scouts have traditionally encouraged young women to examine as many options as possible, and to step outside the bounds to which girls are socially confined. They have recently expanded that orientation, however, at least at the national level, and adopted a feminist philosophy. New merit badges have been added to award girls for achievement in non-traditional areas such as journalism and business. National and regional seminars are conducted to inform Girl Scouts of career options, and to give them an accurate understanding of particular careers, many of which are non-traditional.

• Media

Media directed at teenagers reaches a substantial part of the youth population. Radio stations with programming geared towards the young adult practically blanket the nation. It is a rare student who never listens to such stations. Teenage stations occasionally advertise for vocational education and technical training schools. For the most part, such schools practice sex-bias both in their public relations and in their course programming. Television advertising has traditionally been restricted to products other than education, with the exception of ads for a few for-profit schools such as secretarial schools (women) and computer programming courses (men). Now, however, advertising for colleges has come to television and radio. This advertising varies in its efforts to recruit women as well as men in much the same way that some advertising reflects sex bias and other advertising does not.

The electronic media could become an effective and extensively used tool in attempting to encourage young women to choose nontraditional postsecondary education goals in its regular programming. While an occasional program on postsecondary education and career options is now aired on radio or television, thus far such programming has been unusual. Surprisingly, few of these programs are heard on radio stations directed at the teenage audience. More frequently these programs will appear on stations operated by colleges and universities, or public radio.

Newspapers—Other mass media including newspapers and wide circulation magazines, have been slow to expand their coverage directed at young people. While a number of papers added a "youth" section during the sixties, such sections have mostly gone the way of the "women's" section, and include coverage of carwashes, high school basketball teams, and an occasional "teen problems" column carrying letters from love-struck young women and replies with sensible answers. In examining a dozen major U.S. newspapers, I have seen no regular columns which deal with career or education. Nor have I seen any regular columns on problems particular to women in a sexist society. Mass circulation magazines are, for the most part, read by people older than high school age, and have strict copy limitations. Therefore, it is not surprising that they do not focus on any one particular interest group, women and youth included.

Magazines—The teenage magazine market is made up of three basic segments: the movie/rock star publications; the love, fashion and beauty magazines; and the features, fashion and beauty magazines. While no one star magazine has a circulation as high as a half-million, the combined sales of the large quantities of almost identical movie and rock star magazines climbs into the millions. These magazines completely neglect any career or educational information. The major fashion magazines read by teenagers are *Vogue* and *Glamour*. *Glamour*, for example, directs itself to the 17 to 28 year old age group and circulates about 1.5 million copies monthly. An examination of one year of *Glamour* issues shows that while they usually published one feature article a month which does not relate to fashion or beauty, the articles tend to concentrate on love, marriage and personality improvement. No articles discussed even tangentially postsecondary educational options. *Vogue*, with its smaller circulation and somewhat older audience, similarly avoids topics which involve education or employment.

The feature and fashion magazines directed at teenage women with circulations over three quarters of a million, include the following: *Seventeen, Teen, American Girl*, and *New Ingenue* before its recent demise. By far, the one with the most non-traditional messages for young women was *American Girl*. This magazine, which is published by the Girl Scouts and aimed at girls aged 11 to 17 with the emphasis on younger girls, circulates a million copies monthly. Almost half of the readers are Girl Scouts. *American Girl* publishes only a few articles on fashion and beauty, instead focusing on career exploration, "how to" articles, and sports articles. Taking a "feminist" perspective, the publication encourages girls to consider non-traditional activities in every field. The magazine is, however, aimed at girls who are not quite ready to consider postsecondary educational options.

Therefore, rather than concentrating on articles which explain the details of postsecondary educational options, *American Girl* includes articles which encourage girls to become involved in activities which eventually will enhance their chances of having a wide variety of options. For example, *American Girl* often runs hints on "unusual" summer jobs, which encourage girls to pursue jobs usually filled by boys (e.g., "box girl" in a grocery store), as well as to take initiative and be-

come "self-employed" (e.g., make something to sell), or to create a new job (offer to perform some task which is needed but not being performed). Further, in its articles and stories, a realistic picture is painted of the role of women. The magazine also includes articles which profile older women in high status, high paying positions. Unlike some of the other teen magazines, *American Girl* uses pictures of minority youth as well as of white youth in both advertising and editorial sections.

Teen Magazine, which circulates 860,000 copies monthly, publishes one and occasionally two feature articles each month. The remainder of the magazine is devoted to fashion, beauty, and movie rock stars. *Teen* is directed to 13-18 year old girls, and also apparently assumes its readers are almost entirely white. It uses pictures of blacks, Chicanos, Asians, and other minorities as infrequently as once per issue. Despite the fact that *Teen* is published in California, and appears, from the letters and from the focus of the articles, to be read most widely there, where the population of the state is 17 percent Chicano, and 10 percent black.

Teen's feature editor, Kathy McCoy, who authors most the features, is sensitive to the need for young women to consider options outside of the traditional realm. Well over half of her articles relate to exploring postsecondary educational options. For example, in January 1974, she ran an article called "Blue Color/White Collar: Extraordinary Jobs, Extraordinary Women," (January 1974, pp. 23-25). This article featured women in the following occupations: truck driver, TWA Supervisor of Customer Relations (the "calm and cool one in the middle of a crisis"), police sheriff, airline pilot, blacksmith, and gas station attendant. McCoy noted, "Although in most cases women are infiltrating rather than invading male dominated fields, their victories are notable."

Another article by McCoy, called "After High School—What?" (April 1974, pp. 18-19) cited numerous career information services along with their addresses. Further, each article she writes includes women who are successful professionals. For example, in one issue, when relating an anecdote, she used a female attorney who was flying on business. She also gives extensive coverage to the high paying blue collar jobs which have traditionally been non-female.

Seventeen varies the topics in its articles more than any of the other magazines, making it a publication with a "something-for-everyone" philosophy. Its circulation is 1.5 million. Unlike *Teen*, it maintains no commitment to encourage women to move into nontraditional roles. While including numerous articles on jobs and educational options, the sex-stereotypes still come through. For example, one article entitled "All-Women Colleges Are Better" cited as evidence of the superiority of the women's colleges that women could feel at ease walking around the dormitory with their hair in curlers knowing that no man would come walking out of the next room. Another example of *Seventeen's* failure to present nontraditional options appears in an article entitled "Five Jobs Without College For You." While some of the jobs listed were fairly high-paying, the very high-paying positions which do not require higher education, such as construction work, were not included.

Conclusions

In summary, most messages received by young women encourage them to follow traditional educational and career patterns. Only when unusual circumstances combine to influence a girl's plans is she likely to pursue non-traditional goals.

Most of these messages come directly from people, and therefore are not likely to be effectively controlled by legal or administrative sanctions. Rather, they are subject to the status of social patterns. Only by reweaving the entire social fabric can effective individual changes be made. Extensive revision of the counseling system can help overcome biases against women forcing certain paths. Similarly, training and sensitizing courses for teachers would also counter sex bias. The mass media, a largely untapped resource as yet, could be utilized to overcome these problems.

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